RELIGION AND MORALS

OF THE

EARLY FILIPINOS

AT THE

COMING OF THE SPANIARDS

BY

Dame M. Edmunde Delbeke, M. A.
(University of Sto. Tomas)

OF THE

Missionary Canonesses of St. Augustine
(Louvain, Belgium.)
Member of the teaching staff of
St. Theresa's College, Manila.

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PREFACE

Before submitting these papers to the press, I wish to express my most sincere thanks to the University of Santo Tomas in Manila, this center of catholicism and culture which for more than three centuries has not ceased to send out over this Archipelago treasures of virtue and science. After I had received from this venerable institution my degree of Master of Arts, its faculty organ, Unitas, bestowed upon me the great honor of publishing my thesis. Such an unlooked for honor merits my deep and lasting gratitude.

I have dedicated this thesis to the female youth of these beloved Islands, especially to that portion of this youth, who faithful to the traditions of their ancestors sought their education and instruction under the shadow of the Cross, and no one would begrudge the writer for having particularly in view the students of St. Theresa's College.

AUG 24 1948

I am thoroughly convinced that every one will understand that in this work, based upon the principles of true historical criticism, there is intended no disparagement of any individual or race. On the contrary the Filipino people will find in it cause to glorify the Goodness of God, who in the brief space of three centuries has transformed this nation in such a way that it may in truth be considered as the only representative of the Catholicism in the Orient. Other nations may boast of their material riches, but the Philippine Islands can glory in its moral value.

The author of these pages recognizes that certain

Occidental Nations, who are now at the head of the civilized world, took more than three centuries of Christian influence to attain the position they now occupy.

The important question is not to know at what time of their history Christianity was introduced into a country, for this depends on the decrees of Divine Providence, but to know how a people has accepted and profited from the announcement of the Good News; and to know the rapidity with which they have advanced towards a higher civilization. Now in regard to this the Filipino people is in no way behind any Nation.

Being a member of a Congregation of Missionaries, the author is glad that the result of her work, purely objective and scientific, permits her to pay her tribute of admiration and respect to the zeal, the valor and the devotion of the Pioneers of the Catholic Faith in these Islands: The Valiant Missionaries of Spain.

Manila, Feast of the Nativity of Our Lady, 1928.

CONTENTS

Page

INTRODUCTION 1

CHAPTER I. BELIEF

A. The Supreme Being.
1° Existence 4
2° Dwelling Place 7
3° Attributes 7
4° Worship 8

B. The Other Gods.
1° Existence 9
2° Dwelling Place 9
3° Attributes 10
4° Worship 12

C. The Spirits.
1° Existence 12
2° Dwelling Place 14
3° Attributes 16
4° Worship 17

D. The Man.
1° As a Whole.
1' Origin 18
2' End 19
3' Compound Being 20
4' Position 20
2° The Soul.
1' United with the Body 20
2' Separated from the Body 21
3' Next Life for All 21
4' Length of the Next Life 22
5' Representation of the soul in the Next Life 22
6' Location of the Next World 24
7' Worship of the soul 26
3° The Body.
1' The Funeral.
a. Fate of the body after separation from soul 27
b. Care given to the Corpses 27
c. Offerings to the Corpses 28
d. Burial Places 28
2' Mourning.
a. In what it consisted 29

Page

b. Length. 31
3' Veneration 32
4º Social Classes and Races 33

E. Nature.
1º Representation 33
2º Origin 34
3º Relation to Higher Beings 35
4º Animism 36
5º Worship of Nature 38
6º Conclusion 39

CHAPTER II. MORALS

I. In General.
A. Notion.
1º Notion of good and bad 40
2º Basis of this distinction 40
3º Good and Bad 41

B. Conscience.
1º Knowledge of Conscience 41
2º Feeling of Duty 41
3º Idea of parents with regard to the faults of their children 42

C. Law.
1º Natural Law 42
2º Moral Laws—by whom imposed 43
3º Force of Laws 44
4º Moral obligations as related to religion 44

D. Retribution.
1º Notion of Retribution 45
2º Conclusion 46

II. In Particular.
A. Obligations of Man.
1º Towards the other world 46
2º Towards their neighbours
1' Parents and Children 46
2' Children and Parents 47
3' Superiors and Inferiors 48
4' Pagan Priests and subjects 52
5' Masters and slaves 53
6' Higher and lower social classes 55
7' Sick and Weak 57
8' Enemies 58
9' Friends 60
10' Men towards women 60
3º Towards the honor of their neighbour 61

Page

4º Towards the properity of their neighbouf 63
5º Towards himself.
1' In Danger 63
2' For the Future 65

B. Transgressions.
1º Generalities 66
2º Against Religion 66
3º Against Society and Authority 67
4º Against Persons.
1' Life 68
2' Liberty 70
3' Morality 72
5º Against honor 75
6º Against Property 76

C. Sanction.
1º The Offender 80
2º The Punishment 83
1' By whom imposed? 83
2' What Kind? 84
3º Sanction in the Next World 87
4º Meaning of the punishment for the Indios 88

CHAPTER III. WORSHIP

A. Places 89
B. Time.
1º The Festivals 92
1' Duration 93
2' Manner of procedure 93

C. Ministers.
1º Who they were 94
2º Education 95
3º Function 95
4º Social Position 95
5º Vestments 96

D. Object of the Cult.
1º Whom they worshiped 97
2º Amulets 98
3º Living Persons object of their cult 98
4º Things required in the exercise of their cult 99

E. Acts of the Cult.
1º Prayer 101
1' Ritual Prayer 101
a. By Whom 102
b. How 102

Page

2' Other prayers 103
3' Why they prayed 104
2º Ritual Purification 105
3º Ordeals 106
4º Oaths 107
5ºVows 108
6º Penance 109
7º Offering 109
1' Oblations 109
2' Sacrifices 110
3' Holocausts 114
8º Dances and Songs 114
F. Language of the Cult 115

CHAPTER IV. MYTHOLOGY

.. .. 117

CHAPTER V. FETICHISM

A. What Is Fetichism? 118
B. Did it exist among the Indios? 118

CHAPTER VI. MAGIC

A. What Is Magic? 123
B. Was it known by the Indios? 123
C. Quack 124
D. The Black Art 125
1º Its existence 125
2º Power of the devil 125
3º Intervention of the devil—Possession 127
4º Power of the Necromancers—Prophesy 128
5º Communication with the devil 129
6º Necromancy harmful to the people 130
7º Who exercised the Black Art? 131
CONCLUSION 133

INTRODUCTION

RELIGION AND MORALS

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AT THE

COMING OF THE SPANIARDS.

Introduction

Few subjects in the wide range of science offer greater attraction or prove more fruitful sources of information than does the study of man in the various stages of civilization. How interesting it is as we accompany him backward through the ages, each step opening new fields, revealing new treasures, bringing us nearer to the knowledge of how these men of the past lived and thought and acted.

The work of arriving at this knowledge from Archives and historical sources is true scientific labor. Thus it was towards this field that our eyes were turned when asked to hand in a thesis for Master of Arts.

Our first idea was to give a *complete* picture of the life of the Indios (*) at the coming of the Spaniards. But scarce had we begun our researches ere we realized the immensity of the task. Such a subject was too broad to be treated in so short a time, hence we decided to limit our study to the *Religious life* of the Indios at the Coming of the Spaniards.

We are fully aware that this has been made the subject of study by several authors, as for example, Paterno in his "La Antigua Civilization de Filipinas" Manila 1915. But every one will agree that this work of Paterno is rather philosophical in character than scientifically historical. There is also the valuable study of Dr. Fr. Valentin Marin y Morales "Ensayo de Una Sintesis de los Trabajos Realizados por los Corporaciones Religiosas Españolas" Manila 1901. But in this work the religion of the Indios has been studied in connection with the other aspects of Pre-Spanish Civilization.

The writer of this thesis thought that a systematic exposi-

(*) The word "Indios" is used here in its historical meaning as it was the term applied to the native Filipinos by the early Spanish writers, without any further connotation (Ed.)

tion of *the religious beliefs and feelings* of the Indios was important enough to form the subject of a thesis, consequently we have confined ourselves to the study of

I. The Belief.
II. The Morals.
III. The Cult.
IV. The Mythology.
V. Fetichism.
VI. Magic.

Besides it was our intention to use in this study material from sources which have not been mentioned by the learned Dominican.

Studies of lesser importance as that of Romualdez in his "Psychology of the Filipino" have been disregarded.

In speaking of the sources we recognize readily that had our research been made in Spain, many more unknown details might have been brought to light. The Archives of Simancas and especially the Archives of Sevilla must contain a treasure for those who wish to make an extensive and thorough study of Philippine History. The Archives of the different religious orders who have labored and still labor so gloriously in the Philippine Islands must also possess rich material in regard to Philippine History.

But since it was impossible to do the work in Spain we were obliged to content ourselves with the "published sources" and the "literary sources" which have furnished the necessary details in the writing of our thesis.

The sources used are as follows:

ALLIER, Raoul: "La Religion des Primitifs" Paris 1909.

ARGENSOLA, Bartolome Leonardo de: "Conquista de las Islas Molucas" Madrid 1609.

BLAIR AND ROBERTSON: "The Philippine Islands 1493-1898" Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers. Volumes V, VII, X, XII, XVI, XXXIV, XL. Cleveland. 1903.

BLUMENTRITT: "Las razas des Archipielago Filipina" Madrid 1890.

CHIRINO: "Relacion de las Islas Filipinas" Manila 1890.

COLIN: "Labor Evangelica" written 1663 edited by Pastells S. J. Barcelona 1900.

"COLLECCION DE DOCUMENTOS INEDITOS DE ULTRAMAR". Secunda Serie 1886-1887. Madrid.

"CONQUISTA DE LA ISLA DE LUZON" published in Retana's "Archivo del Bibliofilo Filipino" Madrid 1890.

DELGADO: "Historia General de Filipinas" Manila 1892.

GRANDMAISON, Leonce de: in ''Christus'' Manuel d'histoire des Religions. Paris 1921.

HUBY ET COLLABORATEURS: ''Christus'' Manuel d'histoire des Religions. Paris 1921.

LEROY, Mgr.: ''La Religion des Primitifs'' Paris 1909.

LOARCA: ''Relación de'' written in June 1582. This relation is preserved in the Archives of Simancas.

Simancas Filipinas: descubrimientos descriptiones y poblaciones de las Yslas Filipinas. años 1537 a 1565: est 1 caj., 1, leg. 1-23 Published in Blair and Robertson's ''The Philippine Islands, 1493 1898'' Vol. V. from p. 34-187. The citations are given according to this edition.

MARIN Y MORALES: ''Ensayo de Una Sentesis los Trabajos Realizados por las Corporaciones Religiosas Españoles'' 2 Vol. Manila 1901.

MEDINA: ''Historia de las Sucesos de la Orden de N. G. P. San Augustin'' Manila 1893.

MERCIER ET COLLEGUES: ''Traité élémentaire de Philosophie'' Louvain 1926.

MONTERO Y VIDAL: ''Historia General de Filipinas'' Madrid 1887.

MORGA: ''Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas'' published by Retana. Madrid 1909.

NAVARRETE, de: ''Colección de los Viages y Descubrimientos que hicieron por mas los Españoles Madrid 1837.

PATERNO, Pedro: ''La Antigua Civilization de Filipinas'' Madrid 1915.

PIGAFETTA: ''Primer Viage alrededor del Mundo'' traducido y anotado por Manuel Walls y Merino. Madrid 1899.

PLASENCIA, Juan de: ''Los Costumbres de los Tagalos'' written in 1508, edited by Pardo de Tavera in ''Revista Contemporanea'' Madrid 1892; and by Morga in ''Sucesos'' 1909.

RETANA: ''Archivo del Bibliofilo Filipino'' Madrid 1896-1905. ''Revista Historia Bibliographica'' Tom. V. ''Archivo''. ''Aparato Bibliografico de la Historia General de Filipinas'' Madrid 1906.

ROMUALDEZ: ''Ligero Bosqueto de la Legislación Prehistorica Filipina'' Manila 1914.

SAN ANTONIO, Juan Francisco de: ''Crónicas de la Prov. de San Gregorio Magno. En las Islas Fhilipinas, China, Japan. Primera parte en que se incluse la descripción de estas Islas'' Madrid 1738.

SAN AGUSTIN, Gaspar de: ''Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas''. Vol. I. Madrid 1698.

SAN IÑEZ, Francisco de: ''Crónica de la provincia de San Gregorio Magno'' written in 1676 published Manila 1892.

UNCILLA de: ''Urdaneta y la Conquista de Filipinas.'' San Sebastian 1907.

We are convinced that in our attempt a systematic whole of the religious conditions of the Indios at the coming of the Spaniards has been given and that new points of view have been set forth which will give a clearer idea of the past.

CHAPTER I. BELIEF

A. THE SUPREME BEING.

1º *Existence.*

In our research work concerning the existence of a Supreme Being, we do not intend to imitate Pedro Alexandro Paterno. who in his book, "La Antigua Civilization Tagalog" (1) had recourse first to a chronicle writer of later date (2) and then gave himself over to mystic, philosophic and philologic considerations concerning the word "Bathala" drawing at last the the conclusion that the Indios considered in "Bathala" the "Unique and Universal Substance" (3). We simply intend to make a study of the oldest sources and to quote their valuable information.

Of the many sources at hand let us first examine the oldest reliable description of the Islands. According to the account given by the Venetian Pigafetta, who was the travelling companion of Magellan, the inhabitants of Cebu adored but one God, called: "Abba" (4).

When we now examine the writings left by the companions of Legaspi, we find the same testimony, that the Indios had the knowledged of "God" but the statement of Pigafetta that the Indios adored this Supreme Being and that they did not honor any other superior being, is not mentioned.

Thus we read in the writings of Juan Martinez that the Indios "know very well that there exists a God." (5).

A most important document concerning the conquest of the island of Luzon was written in Manila in the year 1572, April 20., by an eyewitness (6) who did not wish to sign his name probably to forego the hatred of others. In his Prologue he says

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(1) **Paterno** "La Antigua Civilizacion de Filipinas" Madrid 1882; second edition Manila 1915. Our citation is according to this last edition.

(2) He has recourse to **Fray Juan Francisco de San Antonio** and quotes his book "Descripción de las Islas Filipinas" San Antonio is a writer of the XVIII century and his book was published in 1738.

(3) **Cfr. Paterno op. cit.** "Jehova and tagalog" p. 33 till 42. On page 36 are the words: "Bathala sustancia única y universal" -"Bathala the unique and universal substance" This idea is still more expanded on p. 35.

(4) **Pigafetta** "Primer Viaje alrededor del Mundo". (traducido y anotado por Manual Walls y Merino) Madrid 1899. P. 35. Este los hizo preguntar si eran Moros o gentiles, y cuales eran sus creencias, a lo que respondieron que no adoraban nada en la tierra pero si a un dios que llamaban **Abba.**

(5) **Colección de documentos ineditos. serie 2. tom. 3. doc 47. p. 371—475;** Narrative of the journey of the ship "San Gerónimo" year 1566 to July 25, 1567" p. 465 "bien saven que ay Dios"—"they know very well that there is a God."

(6) **This document called "Conquista de la Isla de Luzon"** lies in the Archives of Sevilla and was published in Retana "Archivo del Bibliofilo Filipino." Tom. IV. Madrid 1898.

that he writes by order of a certain person so that the truth might be known. (1). In this famous document we read "they (the Indios) call God Batala, and their principal Idol is called by that name. This idol is also called Diobata, at least the Visayas call it thus but the inhabitants of Luzon commonly call it Bathala. (2).

We are in possession of a document in which much is related about the religion of the Indios. It is a report written by one of the companions of Legaspi: Miguel de Loarca. This report, is made in a very scientifical manner by one who was interested in the subject which he wrote. (3). It was most probably written in the year 1582. Loarca makes a distinction between the religion of the Moros and the religion of the other Indios.

The Moros whom Loarca mentions in his report are the natives who lived around Manila Bay and who had been converted to the Mohamedanism (at least exteriorly) by the Moros of Borneo. These Moros later penetrated into the interior of Batangas; they lived on the islands of Mindoro and Luban, and occupied the most fertile portion of Luzon and of Manila Bay where they established themselves fifteen miles along the coast. (4).

The Visayas or Pintados (5) are quite different from these Moros. With the Visayas or Pintados we may classify the inhabitants of Camarines (6) of the Islands north of Luzon (7) of Catanduanes (8) of the provinces of Bulinao (9) and of

(1) **Conquista op. cit. p. 4** "porque ansi me lo a encargado una cierta persona que me lo mando scrivir... porque el que esto leyere sepa la verdad de lo que acá pasa."

(2) **Conquista op. cit. p. 27-28** "Llaman a Dios, Batala, e un ydolo el mas principal que ellos tienen lo llaman ansi, y por otro nombre Diobata, a lo menos entre los pintados, llaman le ansi; los naturales de esta ysla de Luzon comunmente le llaman Batala.

(3) **This document lies in the Archives of Simancas** "Simancas-Filipinas descubrimientos, descriptiones y poblaciones de las Islas Filipinas; años 1537-1565 hay 2: est. 1, caj. 1, leg. 123.

It was published in the Philippine Islands 1493-1803, by Blair and Robertson Vol. V. p. 34-187. We cite according to this edition.

(4) **Loarca op. c. p. 82.** "Esta poblada de Moros yndustriados de los de Burney. Desta generación de Moros estan poblados hasta los pueblos de las batangas... destos Moros esta poblada la ysla de Mindoro y la de Luban y no se allan en otra parte de las yslas. Los Moros poseen la tierra mas fertil desta ysla pero no tienen sino esta ensenada de Manila y quince leguas de costa."

(5) They were called Pintados because they generally tatooed their whole body.

(6) **Loarca p. 82.** Los de la provincia de Camarines... es gente que son casi Pintados.

(7) **Loarca p. 82.** Y aun los de la otra caveca desta ysla cae a la vanda del sueste hacia los japones tambien son casi semejantes a los Pintados.

(8) **Loarca p. 96.** Los naturales desta provincia estan en parcialidades como los pintados y tienen los mesmas costumbres.

(9) **Loarca p. 104.** Ynvocan a sus difunctos y antepasados como los Visayas.

Ilocos. (1).

Speaking of the old customs and laws of the Moros, Loarca says that they adored one God whon they called Bathala. According to Loarca the meaning of the word Bathala is "God" (2).

But when Loarca speaks about the Visayas, he does not quote a word which means one God. According to him the Visayas believed in a duality that is to say two principal Gods, the one Called Captan and the other Maguayen (3).

In his chronicle of the Philippines published in the year 1604, the Jusuit Father Chirino speaks about the Indios who believe in the existence of a Supreme Being. He says: "Among their gods they consider one as the Supreme God. The Tagalogs call him "Batala"—"Meicapal", which signifies: God the Creator; and the Visayas call him "Laon", a name that seems to point to his old age (4).

The other writers, as for instance Colin in his work "labor Evangelica" and Fray Juan Francisco de San Antonio, to quote only two of them, have simply copied earlier writers. For instance the work of Colin is but an expansion of Chirino's and Fray Juan Francisco de San Antonio quotes literally the text of Chirino (5).

In conclusion it is plain that all the sources testify to the belief of the Indios in a Supreme God. Yet we have still to remark this: One might probably think that this idea of a Supreme Being came from the Mohamedans, as Moros were living in Luzon. Now the writer of the Conquista draws the attention to the fact, that the influence of the Moros on the Indios was very superficial. "If they (the Natives) were asked: Who is Mohammed? What does his law command? They simply answered: We do not know" (6). And speaking about these Moros, Loarca

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(1) **Loarca p. 110.** Toda esta gente de los Ylocos tienen casi su manera de vivir como los Pintados.

(2) **Loarca op. c. 170.** La ley que antiguamente guardavan estos Moros era que adoravan un dios que llamavan entre ellos batala que propriamente quero decir dios.

(3) **Loarca p. 120.** Y que tenían dos dioses que llaman el uno Captan y el otro Maguayen.

(4) **Chirino:** "Relación de las Islas Filipinas" Manila 1890. p. 74-75. Entre los quales hacen uno principal y superior de todos: a quien los Tagalos llaman Bathala Mei-Capal que quiere decir el dios fabricador y los Bisayos Laon que denota antigüedad.

(5) **J. Franc de San Antonio:** "Descripción de las Islas Filipinas." p. 150 Pero con todo esto tenían conocimiento de un Dios solo; respecto de que adoraban como Dios Principal y mayor que todos al que los Bisayas llaman Lauon, que significa Antiguo, y los Tagalos Bathala Mey-capal que quiere decir: Dios Fabricador y Hacedor de todo. Compare these words with the previous notas.

(6) **Conquista p. 29.** Si les preguntan quien fué Mahoma y que es lo que manda su ley dizen: que no lo saben ni a Mahoma conocen, ny aun a su nombre tampoco, ny saben que es su ley.

asserts that their customs of marriage, slavery, and other did not differ from the customs and habits of the Visayas. This being one more proof that the Moro influence upon the Indios was very superficial and therefore we may suppose that the notion of a Supreme Being was personal to the Natives and not borrowed from the Moros (1).

One more explanation: How can it be explained that Loarca does not mention one Supreme Being for the Visayas?

Let us first remark that he assigns a special place to one of the two deities; thus speaking of the God "Macaptan" he says that he occupies the highest place in heaven. (2).

Moreover when Loarca speaks about the duality of the Visayan Gods, he treats of the creation of the world and of the human race, in which the chief inferior deities played a part. How did Loarca, who knew so much about Bathala of the Moros, not know "Diobata or Laon?" or if knowing did he not find an opportunity to speak of it?

2º *Dwelling Place.*

With regard to the dwelling place of their Supreme God, very little information is given in the sources.

Pigafetta says: "When they (the Indios) pronounce the name of Batala, they raise their eyes and hands towards heaven," giving probably to understand by this that heaven was his abode. (3).

We have just stated that Macaptan occupied the highest place in heaven (4) and speaking of Bathala, Loarca says that he dwelled in heaven. (5).

3º *Attributes.*

After a compilation of the different sources regarding the attribues of their Supreme Being we find the concept of Lord and Master; the Creator of the whole universe.

According to the writer of the Conquista, the Supreme Being was "the God of the whole creation" and the notion which the Indios had of him was so pure even from a Christian view-point that the first missionaries thought they could not find a better name in the dialect for God, our Lord, than the name of Batala. (6).

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(1) **Loarca:** See the whole chapter eleven from page 171 till 186.

(2) **Loarca p. 132.** Dicen que Macaptan esta mas ariba del cielo.

(3) **Pigafetta op. c. p. 35.** Al nombrarlo, levantaron las manos y la vista al cielo.

(4) **Loarca p. 132.**

(5) **Loarca p. 172.** El Batala esta en el cielo.—Batala is in heaven.

(6) **Conquista p. 28.** Le tienen por Dios de todo lo criado y ansi despues que an venido los religiosos a esta tierra que los han comencado a predicar la fe de Jesu Cristo y a bautizar, no le an sabido dar otro nombre en su lengua dellos a Dios Nuestro Señor sino es Batala.

Loarca expands this idea still further "He, Batala is the Lord of all: he created men and villages and has at his command numerous servants whom he sends on earth to help men." (1).

Chirio says: "The God, Creator of all things; his Visayan name seems to be in relation with his eternity" (2).

Yet when we consider the attributes of Macaptan we must conclude after all that this God is of lesser importance. As previously stated he dwelt in the highest heavens; he also planted the reed (3) but he was not all powerful for it was together with Maguayen that he made the thunder to strike men (4) and it is also together that they effect the resurrection. (5). Moreover Macaptan seems to have been an evil god for it is he who was supposed to visit men with diseases and strike them with death. (6).

4° *Worship.*

About the worship of the Supreme Being there is also very little to be found in the sources.

Pigafetta says that the Indios adored Abba and he proves by the attitude and the manner in which the Indios pronounced this name, that they were full of reverence for him. (7). Yet no further details are given.

Wherever there is question of Sacrifices offered by the Indios, their Supreme God is never mentioned. When the Indios were asked why they did not offer any sacrifice to Bathala, they answered that Bathala was too great a Lord and therefore no one could speak to him (8). Batala was an inaccessible God, and in consequence the Indios troubled themselves very little about his worship.

There is nowhere an indication which might give a clue as to the form, or appearance by which they represented to themselves their Supreme Being.

In his famous book "Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas" first

(1) **Loarca p. 170.** Era Señor de todo y que avia hecho los hombres y los pueblos que este batala tenía muchos ministros que enviaba a este mundo a hobrar por ellos.

(2) **Chirino op. c. p. 75.** Quiere decir el dios fabricador; y los Bisayas, Laon que denota antigüedad.

(3) **Loarca p .122.** Aquesta caña la sembro el dios captan.

(4) **Loarca p. 124.** El y el Maguayen hecharon un rayo con que mataron el Pandaguan.

(5) **Loarca p. 124.** Y le rescucitaron y le tomaron al mundo.

(6) **Loarca p. 132.** Le tienen por malo porque les da enfermedades y los mata.

(7) **Pigafetta op. c. p. 35.** Adoraban a un Dios que llamaban Abba, y al nombrarlo levantaron las manos y la vista al cielo.

(8) **Loarca p. 172.** Preguntando les que porque causa hacian el sacrificio al anito y no al batala decían que el batala es tan gran Señor que no le puede hablar nadie.

edited in 1609 Dr. Morga speaking of the religion of the Indios, asserts that "they had not the least notion about the existence of God nor did they do anything to find or to know him" (1).

We will then interprete these words as follows: they (the Indios) had no clear nor distinct notion about the Supreme Being. Yet we dare conclude with Juan Martinez, they knew that there is a God. (2).

B. THE OTHER GODS.

1º *Existence.*

Pigafetta and Juan Martinez do not testify to the existence of any other god except the Supreme God. But another companion of Legaspi, probably Juan de la Isla, speaks of a large number of Gods. According to him, each village had its god, and there were also gods of the sea and gods of the rivers. (3).

Yet we think that we ought not to dwell upon these now, as we are convinced, and will attempt to prove later on, that these gods mentioned by Juan de la Isla are but "Anitos".

Chirino, too, speaks about several gods and he says of them that their heroic deeds and origin are perpetuated in songs, (4) which are sung on special occasions. He still adds that "among those gods there is one supreme called Bathala." (5).

Loarca who wrote about the Visayas whom he knew well, because of his residence among them, is the only one by whom we find a few of these gods well defined as to their names, dwelling place and attributes. (6).

2º *Their Dwelling Place.*

Loarca says: Captan and Maguayen dwell high in

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(1) **Morga:** "Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas" published by Retana Madrid 1902. p. 196. No tenían conocimiento alguno de Dios verdadero, ni discurrían por camino de razón para hallarle.

(2) **Collección de documentos ineditos serie 2. tom. 3. doc. 47 op. cit. p. 465.** "Bien saven que ay Dios."

(3) **Collección de doc. ined. serie 2. tom. 3. doc. 40 p. 233.** En cada pueblo tienen sus dios, nombrale todos generalmente Divata, y sobre nombre cada uno (el) de su pueblo, tienen Dios de la mar y dios de los rios.

(4) **Chirino op. c. p. 74.** En estos cantares barbaros cuentan las fabulosas genealogías y vanos hechos de sus dioses.

(5) **Ibidem p. 74.** Entre los cuales hacen uno principal y superior de todos: Bathala.

(6) **Loarca** took a special interest in the peculiar tastes and habits of this people at the end of his narrative he writes: "I was also one of the first among those who came to these islands, who showed any curiosity regarding these matters and therefore I consider this a reliable and true account." (cfr. Blair and Robertson Tom. V. p. 187).

heaven (1) and there Sidapa dwells as well. (2) The Gods who stand in relation with death are Pandaque, who dwells on a high mountain called Mayos, the other two are Simuran and Siguinarugan. These two last are called the gods of hell yet their dwelling place is not well defined. (3). These two are also known by the inhabitants of the coast under the names of Sumpoy and Sisiburanen and are supposed to live in hell. (4) Now this so called hell seems to be a mountain for Sisiburanen lives on a very high mountain situated on the island of Borneo. (5) There is still the goddess Lalahon, who lives in a volcano on the island of Negros (6); Varangao, who being the god of the rainbow, shows plainly where he lives; and the gods Ynaguinid and Macanduc whose dwelling places are not mentioned. (7).

Thus we have to conclude that these gods dwelt in very different places.

3º *Their Attributes.*

If Captan is to be classified in this category of inferior gods we shall have to repeat what we have previously stated about him: he was the god who planted the reed out of which man sprung (8), it was he who forged the thunder and visited men with diseases and death; he, who could raise the dead to life again. (9). Yet Captan was not omniscient, for when a fisherman was in great sorrow because of the death of a shark, Captan had to send a messenger on earth to find out who had died. (10). Moreover it seems that Captan disliked men because he had

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(1) **Loarca p. 130.** Dicen que Captan esta mas ariba del cielo.

(2) **Loarca p. 130.** Dicen que en cielo ay otro dios que se dice Sidapa y que este tiene un arbol muy grande.

(3) **Loarca p. 130.** Pero que por los maganitos que son los sacrificios y ofrendas que hacen al dios Pandaque vista en aquel cerro de Mayas lo rescatan de Simuran y de Siguinarugan dioses del ynfierno.

(4) **Loarca p. 130.** Quando se mueren los lleva el Dios Maguayen al infierno y que llevándolos en su barangay sale Sumpoy ques otro dios y se los quita y los lleva a Sisiburanen.

(5) **Loarca p. 130.** Vas sus almas con el dios que llaman Sisiburanen a una tierra muy alta que es en la ysla de Burney.

(6) **Loarca p. 134.** El díos Lalahon dicen que reside en un volcan en la ysla de Negros.

(7) **Loarca p. 132.** Ynvocan al Varangao ques el arco del cielo y a Ynaguinid y a Macanduc sus dioses.

(8) **Loarca p. 122.** Aquesta caña la sembro el Dios Capitan y que estando ya grande rebento y hecho de si dos cañutos que tenía hecho un hombre y una muger.

(9) **Loarca p. 124.** El y el Maguayen hecharon un rayo con que mataron al Pandaguan... y le resucitaron y le tornaron al mundo.

Loarca p. 132. Le tienen por malo porque les da enfermedades y los mata.

(10) **Loarca p. 122.** El dios Captan como lo oyo embio las moscas que le abisasen quien era el muerto.

never had anything to eat or drink produced by the earth. (1) Maguayen shared his power, for together they hurled the thunder and effected the resurrection of the dead. (2).

It was Maguayen who transported the dead in a boat to hell. (3). On this journey he was met by Sumpay who took possession of the dead to bring them before Sisiburanen. (4). Sisiburanen seems to have been the ruler of the underworld. All the souls were brought before him and when no sacrifices were offered in his honor, the souls were devoured by this god of hell or made prisoners for eternity. (5).

Yet the God Pandaque could come to the assistance of the dead and if a sacrifice was offered to him, he could deliver them out of the hands of Simuran and of Siguinarugan. (6). The god Sidapa seems to have had for special attribute the power to limit the term of life upon earth, he measured the life of all men and then placed a mark on a tree planted on the mountain Mayas. When this height was reached the person died. (7)

Lalahon was invoked to obtain a good harvest for when she was displeased, she sent the locusts to destroy the crops. (8).

Varangao and the two others (Ynaguinid and Macanduc) were the god who protected the Indios on their expedition of plunder or when they went to war. (9).

We can easily form an idea as to how the natives represented to themselves the above mentioned deities. They were all gods with human form; acting like men and having the same passions as men. It was the anthropomorphism.

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(1) **Loarca p. 132.** Y dicen que porque no a comido cosa deste mundo ni bevido pitarrillas no los quiere y los mata.

(2) **Loarca p. 124.** El y el Maguayen hecharon un rayo con que mataron al Pandagua... y le resucitaron y le tornaron al mundo.

(3) **Loarca p. 130.** Quando se mueren los lleva el dios Maguayen al ynfierno.

(4) **Loarca p. 130.** Llevándolos en su barangay sale Sumpoy ques otro dios y se los quita y los lleva a Sisiburanen, ques el dios que diximos ariva.

(5) **Loarca p. 130.** Para que los tenga consigo buenos y malos todos los llevan por un parejo de que van al ynfierno pero los pobres que no tienen quien haga sacrificios quedan se para siempre en el ynfierno y se los come el dios del ynfierno o se las tienen para siempre en prissiones.

(6) **Loarca p. 130.** Pero que por los maganitos que son los sacrificios y ofrendas que hacen al Dios Pandaque lo rescatan de Simuran y de Siguinarugan Dioses del ynfierno.

(7) **Loarca p. 130.** Dicen que en cielo ay otro dios que se dice Sidapa y que este tiene un arbol y muy grande y que alli mide las vidas de todos que nacen y pone una señal y que en llegando a la medida que el a puesto luego se muere.

(8) **Loarca p. 134.** El dios Lalahon dicen que reside en un volcan en la ysla de Neyros... a este Lalahon ynvocan para su sementeras y quando no quieren darselas buenas hechales la langosta que se las hecha a perder y se las come. Esta Lalahon es muger.

(9) **Loarca p. 132.** Quando van a guerras y a hurtar para estos ynvocan al Varangao ques el arco del cielo y a Ynaguinid, y a Macanduc, sus dioses.

4º *Their Worship.*

As we have already mentioned, the Indios celebrated the heroic deeds and origin of their gods in songs which were learned by heart and transmitted to their children.

These songs were heard whenever the Indios sailed on the waters or when they were at work, in t heir festivals and especially when they mourned their dead. (1) They thought this singing agreeable to their gods.

These gods were especially invoked on certain circumstances and petitions and prayers were addressed to them; for instance they asked the protection of Lalahon over their plantations, (2) they implored the help of Varangao and Ynaguinid and Macanduc in time of war. (3).

Yet the worship of their gods was not limited to prayers. Presents and sacrifices were also offered to those divinities. Thus we have seen that Pandaque would deliver them out of the hands of the gods of the other world, if presents and sacrifices were offered to him in sight of the Mount Mayas. (4).

Even Sisiburanen could be influenced by sacrifices so much so, that all those who did not offer him a sacrifice were devoured by him or thrown into everlasting captivity. (5).

C. THE SPIRITS.

1º *Existence.*

If the early sources are rather poor in details concerning the gods, their lives and their world, this is not the case with the spirits and their world.

Chirino, after having spoken about the Supreme God and having mentioned the inferior deities says: "Lastly they (the Indios) believe in invisible spirits, in another world, and in devils, who are the enemies of men" thus Chirino marks a sharp difference between the spirits and the devils. (6). The latter are

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(1) **Chirino op. c. p. 74.** Todo su gobierno y Religión se funda en tradición y lo conservan en cantares, que tienen de memoria. Y los aprenden desde niños, oyéndolos cantar, cuando navegan, cuando laboran, cuando se regocijan y festejan, y mucho mas cuando lloran los difuntos.

(2) **Loarca p. 134.** Lalahon ynvocan para sus sementeras.

(3) **Loarca p. 132.** Quando van a guerras y a hurtar para estos ynvocan al Varangao, y a Ynaguinid, y a Macanduc.

(4) **Loarca p. 130.** Pero que por los manganitos que son los sacrificios y ofrendas que hacen al dios Pandaque vista en aquel cerro de Mayas.

(5) **Loarca p. 130.** Para que los tenga consigo buenos y malos todos los llevan por un parejo de que van al ynfierno ppero los pobres que no tienen quien les haga sacrificios quedan se para siempre en el ynfierno y se los come el dios del ynfierno o se las tiene para siempre en prissiones.

(6) **Chirino op. c. p. 75.** En fin reconocían espíritus invisibles y otros vida y demonios, enemigos de los hombres.

always the enemies of man, which is not the case with the former.

What did these spirits represent to the Indios? A complete answer to this question will be given, after we shall have examined as well the idea which the Indios had of nature. Nevertheless we may already say that these spirits were considered superior beings who stood in a continual relationship with man whom they could help or injure.

Loarca gives us, in a certain manner, a clearer idea about these spirits. "They are the assistants, the ministers of Batala, who sends them on earth to help men. These helpers are called: Anitos. The nature of the Anito is such that he comes on earth, deals with men and speaks in his behalf to Batala." (1).

It is a fact that the Indios counted their ancestors among the anitos.

Loarca is very explicit about it: "when father or mother or any other member of the family dies they (the Indios) say that he or she goes to Batala to serve him. Consequently they ask the deceased members of the family to intercede in their behalf with Batala whom they consider as their God." (2).

Juan Martinez confirms this in his writings when he says that "they consider their dead as their intercessors or advocates in the other world. (3).

The writer of the Legaspi expedition tells us of the great veneration in which the Indios held their dead: "they consider their ancestors as gods. (4). The word god is probably not used here in its proper meaning. The ancestors were certainly regarded as higher beings yet as previously stated they were but only the servants of Batala who is God. Therefore the word "God" has probably been used here by the writer of the expedition in its meaning of a "higher being honored by the pagans."

Chirino, too, used this word "God" with the same meaning when he wrote: "they considered and honored their ancestors as gods, especially when they were men who had distinguished

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(1) **Loarca p. 170-172.** Este Batala tenía muchos ministros que enviaba a este mundo a hobrar por ellos, lo que aca se hacia a estos llaman anitos. El anito ques de tanta caledad y que baxava aca a hablarles como ministro del batala y que yntercedía por ellos.

(2) **Loarca p. 172.** Estos tambien llaman anitos porque dicen que en muriéndose van a servir al batala... rogándole sea su yntercesor con el Batala que tienen por Dios.

(3) Collección de documentos ined. serie 2. tom. 3. doc. 47. Relation of the journey of the "San Gerónimo" May 1566 till July 25, 1567. p. 465 "a sus defuntos tienen en el otro mundo por yntercesores.

(4) **Doc. ined. serie. 2. tom. 3. doc. 39 p. 113.**
A sus antepasados tienen por Dios.

themselves through their valiant deeds or their cruelty or by their lewdness. (1).

Colin proves that we are right in this conjecture. Colin wrote in 1663, half a century after Chirino. He utilized the work of Chirino which he copied sometimes to the letter. Speaking of the worship of the dead, Colin writes: "They number their dead among the Anitos". (2).

Juan de la Isla employs the word "god" much in the same way as Chirino, when he writes: "each village has its god which is commonly called: Divata, they have also gods of the sea and gods of the rivers" (3). These gods are nothing else but protecting spirits. This is confirmed by Colin when he says that "What the Visayas call Divata is the Anito of the Tagalogs" and that "there were anitos for the sea, anitos for the houses etc." (4).

In his account Loarca mentions still other kinds of Spirits which would best be called: Tormentors. They were the Spirits who brought about infant diseases and who occasioned death by devouring their bowels. These spirits are not called Anitos but Mangalos. (5).

2º These spirits led an independent life and the Indios did not have an exact idea as to their usual *dwelling place*. Yet it was believed that whenever these Anito interested themselves in the living that they chose their dwelling places by preference, in small statues which were then also called Anitos. (6).

Chirino remarks that the Indios kept the remembrance of their ancestors in small idols (7) which were made some out of stone, others of wood, or bones or ivory, still others of the teeth

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(1) **Chirino op. c. p. 75.** En resolución su idolatria es (como de otras muchas naciones) adorar y tener por dioses a sus antepasados particularmente a hombres, que fueron señalados o en valentia y crueldades o en liviandades y torpezas.

(2) **Colin:** "Labor Evangelica" Tom. I p. 65
Entre estos Anitos ponían a sus antepasados.

(3) **Doc ined. serie 2. tom. 3. doc. 40 p. 233.** "En cada pueblo tienen su dios, nombrale todos generalmente Divata, tienen Dios de la mar, y Dios de los rios.

(4) **Colin op. c. tom. I. p. 65.** Los Bisayas los llaman Divata y los Tagalos Anito... Avia anito del mar, anito de casa.

(5) **Loarca p. 128.** Los que se mueren de su enfermedad si son mocos dicen que los Mangalos que son los duendes les comen las asaduras y que por esta causa se mueren.

(6) **Loarca p. 172.** Unan en algunas partes especialmente en las serranias en muriéndoseles padre o madre o pariente hacen de palo un ydolo pequeño y guardallo, y a estos tambien llaman anitos.

(7) In using here the word **Idol** we mean to signify a statue or image which stands in relation with a higher being, without indicating therefore the nature of this relation.

of the Cayman or of gold. These last were called Larauan which signifies: idol or statue. (1).

To deceive the Indios it was not seldom that the devil spoke through these idols, making them believe that it was their ancestors who communicated with them. (2).

Let us remark by the way, that this idea or conception which the Indios had of these statues is still in vogue today. Among the pagan tribes of the mountains these statues or idols are still considered as being a kind of resting place wherein the Spirits come now and then to dwell in.

Now when the writer of the Legaspi expedition asserts that they had not seen any idols, we have to remark that he had most probably visited very few Indio-huts, or that he had probably failed to recognize idols in these shapeless statues. (3).

Loarca also knew those small idols. Moreover they are mentioned in nearly all the early documents.

Let us begin by quoting Pigafetta. He says: "these statues stood in the palace of the king of Cebu and the people promised to burn them on condition that they obtained a cure from the true God." Pigafetta describing these statues continues: "they are made of wood and are hollow; they have the arms and legs extended, the feet turned inside, a large face provided with four tusks; and they are tattoed all over." (4).

These wooden idols are also mentioned by Urdaneta. (5). The story of the Conquest of Luzon testifies to the fact that every family kept several of these idols in their houses. (6).

At a first glance it might seem difficult to establish the fact if these spirits also had their abode in the trees and in the stones, or if the Indios considered some trees and stones as su-

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(1) **Chirino op. c. p. 75.** En memoria destos tenían sus idolillos pequeñuelos, unos de piedra, otros de palo, otros de hueso ó de marfil o diente de caiman, otros de oro a que llaman Larauan que quiere decir idolo, imagen o estatua.

(2) **Chirino op. c. p. 78.** Hablales a sus ídolos o anitos fingiendo ser el defunto a quien adoran.

(3) **Colección de doc. ined. serie 2. tom. 3. doc. 39 p. 113.**
No se les ha visto que tengan Idolos.

(4) **Pigafetta op. c. p. 50.** Todos prometieron que si Dios les daba vida, quemarían cuantos ídolos hallasen, aunque fuera en el palacio del rey. Estos ídolos son de madera, concavos, o sea huecos por detras; tienen abiertos los brazos y las piernas, y los pies vueltos hacia dentro; la cara es muy ancha, con cuatro dientes muy grandes, semejantes a los del jabali; todos estan pintados.

(5) **De Uncilla, Urdaneta y la Conquista de Filipinas, San Sebastian, 1907 Apendice.** Relation of Urdaneta **p. 353.**
Adoran en ídolos de palo.

(6) **Archivo del Bibliofilo Tom. IV.** Relación de la "Conquista de la isla de Luzon." 2 p. 27. Cada uno dellos tienen en su casa muchos ydolos en que adoran.

pernatural beings. But we shall revert to this question when treating about nature.

3º *Attributes.*

As previously mentioned the Anitos were the Spirits, servants and ministers of Batala. They were the helpers of men.

According to Loarca "each Anito had a special task to perform. Some were in charge of the plantations, others assisted the sailors, still others protected warriors, and others still were in charge of diseases. Each one had a special name according to the office he performed, some were called "Anitos of the fields" others "Anitos of the rain." (1).

This idea is also found by Juan de la Isla when he asserts that each village had its guardian spirit and that there were protecting spirits for the sea and for the rivers. (2).

According to Colin: "there were also spirits in charge of the mountains and of the valleys and the Indios had to ask their permission to travel over them; there were also spirits appointed over the plantations, to these the Indios recommended the fertility of their fields. To the spirits of the sea they recommended their fisheries and their journeys. The "Anito of the home" was invoked at the birth of a child or when the child was to be fed." (3).

Moreover the Anitos were the intercessors with Bathala (4) and as previously stated, the Indios regarded their ancestors as their advocates (5) who obtained for them good health. In time of sickness the Anito was invoked with a special zeal, by the Indios as if they wanted to buy back the lost health, by means of gifts or offerings. This special invocation lasted during the illness. (6).

This fact has already been stated when quoting Pigafetta

(1) **Loarca p. 170.** Cada anito tenía su officio unos de las sementeras, otros de los navigantes, otros de los que yvan a la guerra, otros de las enfermedades y ansi cada uno tenía el nombre del officio que tenía, como decir el anito de las sementeras, el anito de la llubia.

(2) **Doc. ined. serie 2. tom. 3. doc. 40 p. 233.** En cada pueblo tienen su dios, nombrale todos generalmente Divata, tienen Dios de la mar.

(3) **Colin Lab. Ev. I. p. 65.** De estos unos eran para los montes, y campos a quien pedia licencia para andar por ellos. Otros para las sementeras, a quien las encomendavan para que fuessen fertiles. Avia Anito del mar a quien encomendavan sus pesquerias y navigaciones. Anito de casa cuyo favor imploravan en naciendo alguna criatura.

(4) **Loarca p. 172.** El ministro del Batala y que yntercedia por ellos.

(5) **Loarca p. 174.** Rogándole sea su yntercesor con el Batala.

(6) **Loarca p. 172.** Decían que le rescatavan la salud de aquel enfermo durava este anito si era enfermo el tiempo que le durava la enfermedad.

who said that they excused themselves for keeping the idols, "because they expected to obtain their health from them." (1).

It seems that the anitos possessed an extraordinary power, as they were believed to dispose over the welfare, the riches and the health of the Indios. The whole life of the Indios seems to have rested in the hands of the Anitos. No wonder, therefore, that the Indios were ready to do anything in their power to obtain the good pleasure or the favor of these spirits, and that they had the greatest fear of offending them in the least.

4º *Worship.*

The worship of the Anitos was of a most selfish character. It aimed at obtaining the sympathy of the Anitos and appeasing their Anger. The Indios were convinced that they could obtain this through their sacrifices and offerings.

For the present we shall speak only about their offerings as the sacrifices will be treated in the Chapter referring to the Cults.

Pigafetta tels us how the converts of Cebu still continued to offer great quantities of meat to their idols. (2).

Juan de la Isla says that the Indios offered pigs to their spirits, and they selected for this purpose the rosy colored ones which were first carefully raised and fattened for the purpose. (3).

The writer of the Legaspi expedition tells us about the offerings which the Indios laid upon the graves of their ancestors whenever they wanted to obtain through their intercession the health of any person. (4).

According to Morga "perfumes and fruits and food were offered to the Anitos." (5).

Chirino speaks of the offerings which were made to the spirits of the river, of the sea and to other spirits (6) but he mentions also barbarous sacrifices offered in honor of the Anitos. (7).

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(1) **Pigafetta op. c. p. 49.** Trataron de excusarse diciendo que los ídolos se mantenían por un enfermo que esperaba de ellos la salud.

(2) **Pigafetta op. c. p. 49.** Continuaban ofreciéndoles en sacrificio mucha carne.

(3) **Colección de doc. ined. serie 2. tom. 3. doc. 40 p. 233.** Sacrifican a estos dioses puercos, especialmente guardan para ellos los bermejos y crianlos que san muy grandes y gordos.

(4) **Ibidem. doc. 39 p. 113.** Quando estan enfermos ó tienen otra necesidad acuden a sus sepulturas con grandes llantos y alabanzas a pedirles sanidad, favor y socorro, donde hacen ciertas limosnas y imbocaciones.

(5) **Morga op. c. p. 196.** Donde le ofrecían perfumes y olores y comidas y frutas a que llaman Anitos.

(6) **Chirino op. c. p. 76.** A las mismas piedras, peñas escollos y puntas de las orillas del mar y de los rios adoraban y ofrecían algo al pasar.

(7) **Chirino op. c. p. 75** A los cuales tenian recurso en sus necesidades y les ofrecían sus barbaros sacrificios.

Colin, the commentator of Chirino, makes a clear distinction between offerings or gifts and sacrifices. He says: "besides the sacrifices which were offered to the Anitos for the good luck of the plantations, food was still placed in the fields for the Anitos to eat" (1). Then speaking of the sacrifices which were offered to the Anitos to obtain the health of a sick person he says: "*What did they sacrifice?*—A slave or a turtle or a pig which they placed at the side of the sick person." (2).

Loarca too speaks of the gifts offered to the Anitos. These gifst were food, wine or golden ornaments. (3).

The same writer relates the following fact: "When the children of the drowned persons were sick, the Indios sailed to a place on the sea which had been pointed out to them by the priestess and there they threw into the water clothing, trinkets and other objects, imploring at the same time the ancestors to protect the sick person during his period of illness. (4)

D. MAN

1º AS A WHOLE

1º *Origin.*

According to Chirino the Indios had several beliefs concerning the origin of man, which differed greatly among the various tribes. One of these stories tell that the first man and women sprang out of a bamboo. (5).

It is Loarca who relates this story in all its details. "The Landwind an the Seawind contracted marriage and the landwing gave birth to a reed. God Captan planted this reed and when it was full grown it broke into two. Out of these two pieces came the first man and the first woman. The man was called Silalac hence all men are called Lalac. The woman was called Sicauay and therefore all women were henceforth called Babayes. Then the man proposed to the woman, but she refused him on the pretext that there had been but one knot between them in the

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(1) **Colin op. c. p. 65.** Y demas de los sacrificios, ponían en ellas cosas de comer para el Anito.

(2) **Colin op. c. tom I. p. 67** Y aparejado lo que se avia de sacrificar esclavo (que alguna vez lo usavan) tortuga marina, o ostion delos grandes, o animal de cerda sin altar, ni cosa que lo pareciese le ponían junto al enfermo.

(3) **Loarca p. 174** Ofreciendoles cosas de comer y vino y joyas de oro.

(4) **Loarca p. 128.** Quando algun hijo suyo o pariente esta enfermo toman y mentense en un barangay los parientes y con una baylana ques como sacerdotisa, y una caxa llena de mantas y otros cosas en la mar la arrojan pidiendo favor y ayuda a su antepasado.

(5) **Chirino op. c. p. 75** Tocan en el principio del linaje humano, contando mil disparates y aun variando mucho en decirlos; unos de un manera y otros de otra; para que mejor se vea que son mentiras y fabulas, una dellas es, que el primer hombre y la primera mujer salieron de un cañuto una caña.

bamboo and that therefore they were brother and sister. At last they agreed to ask counsel of the dolphins, the dove and the earthquake. The last answered that they should marry in order to people the earth. The first son was called Sibo and the first daughter Samar. These two also married each other and they had a daughter called Lupluban, who married Pandaguan a son of the first parents. From this marriage a son was born who was called Anoranor.

Pandaguan was the first to lay out fisheries and to catch fish. He first caught a shark which he brought on land with the hope that it would live. But the shark died and Pandaguan began to lament and to complain against the gods, for this was the first death upon earth. When the God Captan heard the lamentations he sent the flies on earth to find out who had died, but the flies dared not go on this errand, then he sent the weevil which brought him word that a shark had died.

The god Captan was displeased because a funeral had been held in honor of a fish, and together with his colleague he forged a thunderbolt to strike Pandaguan, who after his death remained for thirty days in hell. Then the gods took pity on him, restored him to life and sent him back again upon earth.

Meanwhile his wife had lived with Maracoyrun and thus concubinage was introduced upon the earth. Pandaguan returned home but did not find his wife. She had just left for a party given by her friend who had stolen a pig. This was the first theft committed upon earth. Pandaguan sent for his wife and his son, but his wife answered that she did not wish to return to him for the dead do not come back from the other world. This answer angered Pandaguan who returned to hell. Now if the woman had complied with the wish of her husband, he would not have returned to hell and all the dead henceforth would have come back to life upon earth. (1).

The inhabitants of the mountains had a story much like this except for a few variations. Thus according to them it was a kite that picked open the reed, and the woman who was born first bore a large number of children to people the earth. (2).

2º *The End of Man.*

No information concerning the end of man is to be found in any early document.

The Indios took the greatest care to preserve life and when

(1) This is the exact translation of the story given by **Loarca** in his **Chapter VII**: "Que trata de la opinion que tienen los naturales de las yslas de los pintados del principio del mundo." p. 120-124.

(2) **Loarca p. 126.** Toman el cuento de la caña diciendo que picando el milano en la caña salieron aquel hombre y aquella mujer, y cuentan que la primera vez que pario la Cavahi pario gran cantidad de hijos juntos.

death approached they hoped to be taken up among ancestors and there continue to live as they had upon earth. Their highest aspiration was to escape poverty for poverty meant misery in this life but especially in the next because poverty would prevent them from being ransomed out of the hand of Sisiburanem. Thus poverty could influence their happiness in the next life, consequently they dreaded it intensely. (1).

3º *Is man a compound being?*

From the information found in the early documents we may conclude that the Indios considered man a composed being. Thus they believed that the souls of those who died a noble death went to heaven by way of the rainbow (2). They saw the body lying dead before them, thus there must have been something else called a soul, which was taken up among the spirits. They said when old people died that it was the fault of the wind which had snatched away their souls. (3).

Yet the union of the body with the soul seemed to be so natural, so intimate, that the Indios would not admit of a natural death. Those who were not killed by force or by accident were believed to have been the victims of evil spirit or of superhuman forces which wished them harm. This was believed to have been the case with God Captan, when he struck Pandaguan with a thunderbolt, and a similar case has just been mentioned when speaking of the wind.

Therefore the separation of the soul and the body was much dreaded by the Indios, and we have already seen how they tried to use the influence of their ancestors to prevent it.

4º *Man's position* with regard to the Supreme Being, the Spirits, and nature.

The Indios were very indifferent with regard to the Supreme Being, but they felt a respectful fear towards the spirits, and nature as will be shown later on. Thus we may conclude that fear seems to have been the law under which the Indios lived.

2º THE SOUL.

1º The idea that *man as long as he lived on earth, was a unit without composing parts*, seems to have been so strong among the Indios that we find nowhere the least clue which might point to the substance of the soul.

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(1) **Loarca p. 130.** Por donde se vera quanta Razon tenían de aborrecer la proveca.

(2) **Loarca p. 128.** Dicen que los que mueren a puñaladas o los come algun cayman o a flechaco que es muerte muy honrada y que el alma dellos se suben por el arco que se hace quando lluebe al cielo.

(3) **Loarca p. 128.** Los que mueren biejos dicen que el viento llega y les arebata las almas.

What is the origin of the soul? In what measure does it depend on the body? Can it be seen? Can it leave the body for a certain time? How is the soul represented? Are there good and bad souls? Does the soul possess qualities? Which are its actions? In what relation does it stand with the Supreme Being? Does man have special obligations towards his soul? Does the soul play a part in sleep and in dreams? All these are questions which for lack of informations are to be left unanswered.

2º But once that man had died, the Indios believed *that the soul received an independent life.*

The belief of the Indios in a future life is plainly expressed in their conception of their daily life; and what we have previously stated in regard to the spirits, the anitos and the ancestors are proofs of it.

3º *Moreover a future life was believed to exist for everybody* though everybody was not supposed to be in the same conditions. Loarca testify to the fact when he says: "Those who were killed or devoured by the caiman or pierced by an arrow entered heaven past the rainbow and were received among the gods." (1) "The souls of the drowned remained for ever in the waters." (2). As to the fate of the rest of men a distinction is to be made. "According to the Arrayas, a part of the Visayas, all the deceased went to the underworld, where the gods Simuran and Siguinaguran ruled. Yet sacrifices could be offered in sight of Mount Mayas to the god Pandaque in order to redeem the dead who would then go to live on Mount Mayas which is a very high mountain situated on the Island of Panay. (3). But according to the other Visayas, the deceased were conducted to the underworld by the God Maguayen. Through the good offices of the god Sumpoy they were brought before Sisiburen, the god of the underworld. Now sacrifices could also redeem the souls which were then transported by Sisiburen upon a high mountain in the Island of Borneo. (4).

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(1) **Loarca p. 128** Dicen que los que mueren a puñaladas o los come algun caiman o a flechaco que es muerte muy honrrada que el alma dello se suben por el arco que se hace cuando llueve al cielo y se tornan dioses.

(2) **Loarca p. 128.** Los que se aogan que sus almas se quedan alli en la mar para siempre.

(3) **Loarca p. 128.** Que destos que asi mueren los Arayas que es una cierta parcialidad de pueblos se van a una sierra muy alta que se llama Mayas que esta en la ysla de Panay.

p. 130. Tienen por opinon ue en muriendo las almas se van al ynfierno derechas todas, pero que por los Maganitos que son los sacrificios y ofrendas que hacen al dios Pandaque vista en aquel cerro de Mayas lo rescatan de Simuren y de Siguinarugan dioses del ynfierno.

(4) **Loarca p. 130.** Dicen que la nación de los yligucynes quando se mueren los lleva el dios Maguayen al ynfierno y que llevándolos en su barangay sale Sumpoy ques otro dios y se los quita y los lleva a Sisiburanen para que los tenga consigo buenos y malos todos los llevan por un parejo de que van al ynfierno.

4º Answering the Question of *how long would the next life last?* A distinction seems to be necessary.

Considering their idea about this world which was believed to be without end (1) we must infer that the next life was also believed to be eternal and yet they believed that some would disappear in the next life since they would be devoured by the god of the underworld in the event that no sacrifices had been offred for them. (2).

5º *What picture did the Indios form of the soul in the other world?* To answer this we must examine the idea which they had of the manner of living in the next world and this can best be traced while examining their funeral ceremonies.

The narrative of the Legaspi expedition gives the following important details: "When a principal of the Indios died a smaller or larger number of slaves, according to the social rank of the deceased, were killed and interred with him together with blankets, chinaware and golden ornaments." (3).

Juan de la Isla gives also the reason why slaves were buried with the principales: "so that they might serve their master in the underworld." When a principal fisherman had entered eternity "his boat and oarsmen were interred with him, so that these last might continue to row for him in the next world." (4).

An order signed by Legaspi on May 16, 1565 tells us that in Cebu, Spanish Conquistadores had opened the graves and robbed them of quantities of gold and other jewels. The prize must have been great since Legaspi issued an order forbidding his soldiers to open the graves without his permission, for said he, those who do this on personal initiative without paying the royal tax, occasion great loss to His Majesty. (5).

Loarca testifies also the fact that gold and blankets were buried with the dead, because the Indios believed that if they

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(1) **Loarca p. 132.** Tienen quel mundo nunca se a de acavar.

(2) **Loarca p. 130.** Pero los pobres se les come el días del ynfierno.

(3) **Colección de doc. ined. serie 2. tom. 3. p. 113.** Quando muere algun principal matan algunos esclavos de los suyos mas o menos, segun la calidad de la persona y hacienda que tiene; todos ellos se entierran en ataudes hechos de dos tablas, y entierran juntamente consigo de las mas ricas mantas y borcelana y joyas de oro de las que tienen.

(4) **Ibid. serie 2. tom. 3, doc. 40 p. 234.** Entierrase con sus riquezas, mantas, oro y porcelanas y los principales matan esclavos y entierralos con ellos porque los sirvan allí, si es hombre de la mar muy principal entierran con el su navio en que andava con muchos esclavos que le reman paraque alla en el.

(5) **Colección de doc. ined. serie 2. tom. 2. doc. 29 p. 355.**

Por quanto a su noticia a venido que muchos españoles soldados y marineros an abierto en esta isla de Zubu muchos sepulcros y enterramientos de yndios naturales y en ellos se an hallado cantidad de oro y otras joyas y las personas que los an abierto y hallado el dicho oro no an acudido a manifestarlo ante su señoría ni ante los oficiales de su Magestad para que su Magestad cobre y aya sus reales quintos y derechos.

arrived in the next world as rich men they were sure to be welcomed. (1).

Loarca relates still how "a slave was killed so that he might accompany his master in the next life to serve him." (2).

Chirino gives us more peculiar details "Gold was sometimes put in the mouth of the deceased and he was adorned with golden ornaments. A second coffin was filled with clothes and great quantities of food were placed near the grave. Sometimes slaves, males and females were killed after they had first been allowed to partake of a good meal. These slaves were obliged to accompany the dead. It even happened that a whole boat filled with oarsmen was interred so that they might be useful to the dead in his voyages in the next world. When the dead was buried under the house, a fence was placed around the grave which was left open, and food was placed on the grave. (3).

Colin, who usually takes the text of Chirino as basis of his communications, adds the following "the man is buried with his weapons, while the woman is given her weaving loom and other implements of work." Colin quotes the example of a principal of Bohol who was interred with his boat, 70 men, his weapons, ammunition and a great amount of food as if he was to continue his life of a searover in the next world. (4).

According to Chirino, the Indios believed that the dead could return to their homes and therefore, whenever they were buried beyond the house, a fire was kept burning under the house and guards were posted to prevent his return for the living feared

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(1) **Loarca p. 134.** Estos naturales se entierran en unos atahudes de palo en sus propias casas; entierranse con oro y mantas porque dicen si van ricos, los recibiran de buena gana, y al contrario si van pobres.

(2) **Loarca p. 134.** Quando muere el principal de aquella misma muerte matan a un esclavo para que los sirva en el otro mundo.

(3) **Chirino op. c. p. 108.** A otros los echaban oro en la boca, y les ponían muchos preseas, y les enterraban asi ricamente aderezados debajo de su casa, y con ellos otra caja de ropa. Demas de eso había ordinario cuidado de traer varias viandas a la sepultura y dejarlas allí para el defunto. A otros no los dejaban ir solos, sino que les daban esclavos y esclavas que les acompañasen a quienes daban primero de comer muy bien, y luego los mataban para que fuesen con el difunto. Vez sucedió que enterraron con un principal un navio tripulado de muchos remeros para que lo sirviesen en las navegaciones del otro mundo. La mas ordinario sepultura que daban al defunto era su propia casa, abriendo un gran hoyo en que ponían la caja, y poniendo una bandarilla en cerco del hoyo, se lo dejaban abierto y allí le ponían la comida que le llevaban.

(4) **Colin op. c. p. 69.** Al lado de los hombres ponían sus armas, y al de las mujeres sus telares o otros instrumentos de su labor. En la isla de Bool un principal della se mandó enterrar en un genero de embarcación, que llaman Barangay, rodeado de setenta esclavos con armas, municiones y vituallas como quando el en vida solía salir a sus correrías y robos, como si en la otra vida huviera de ser tan corsario, como avia sido en esta.

that the dead might sometimes carry them off. (1). The Indios were also convinced that the dead could speak to them. (2).

The conclusion drawn from all these quotations is that the Indios believed that in the next world the soul continued to live the same life it had led on earth, and that it held in the other world the same social position which it had held on earth. Thus the poor remained poor, the slaves continued slaves and the rich were always rich.

The soul was supposed to have the same pleasures and necessities as when it was still united to the body. The soul of the woman had to work, while the soul of the men went to the chase. Yet the souls were believed to remain in communication with the living and therefore food was placed upon the graves and great care was taken of the corpse as we shall see later on.

Morga for instance, tells us how "they kept with the greatest respect the corpse and the bones of their ancestors, and venerated their skulls as if their ancestors were still living among them. (3) The dead was also believed to be able to communicate with the living.

Out of this we may finally conclude that the Indios made little difference between the living and the dead. The only difference was that the living were visible while the dead invisible, but the power of the dead was believed to be greater than that of the living.

6º *Where were the souls supposed to dwell?*

This question has already been answered in part, yet let us examine it in a more systematic manner.

Loarca tells that all the dead were first transported to hell but that they could be redeemed out of the hands of the infernal gods by means of sacrifices and offerings made to Pandaque in sight of Mount Mayas. Then the souls were transported upon a high mountain situated according to some on the Islands of Panay and according to others on the Island of Borneo.

But why was heaven thought to be situated on a high mountain? Probably because it is much cooler and more agreeable to live on the mountain than in the valley. This meaning is sug-

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(1) **Chirino p. 108.** Otros los enterraban en el campo y hacían fuegos por muchos días debajo la casa ponían atalayas para que el defunto no volviese a llevarse los que habían quedado.

(2) **Chirino p. 78.** Hablales en sus ídolos o anitos fingiendo ser el defunto.

(3) **Morga op. c. p. 197.** Enterravan sus muertos en sus propias casas, teniendo en cajas sus cuerpos y huesos mucho tiempo y venerando sus calaveras como si fueran vivos y los tuvieran presentes.

gested by Juan de la Isla who remarked that "the dead went to a place under the earth because it is much cooler there." (1).

Therefore, the Indios thought of heaven as a place where they could be protected against the discomforts of a tropical climate, and this proves once more that their conception of the life of the soul was purely materialistic.

One more fact is still to be mentioned. The sea also seems to have been the dwelling place of certain souls. It was believed that "the souls of persons drowned remained for ever in the sea, and yet they were honored and invoked in time of sickness just like other souls. (2).

Why this exception?

Chirino remarks very judiciously that with regard "to those things which concern the next life, the Indios make the most contradictory statements." (3). Now if Chirino could not find unity in their ideas or conceptions, neither shall we attempt to establish it but we merely quote the facts just as we find them related in the sources.

These are the only details to be found in the early documents. But Fray Francisco de Santa Ines gives the following account "No one goes to heaven where Batala alone dwells. Batala is the Maker of all things and from heaven governs the whole world. The just, the brave, and those who have lived without injury to others or who have practiced moral virtues, go to "Maca" which is a place of rest; the Paradise. There is still another place called "Catanaan" this is a place of punishment where the bad are condemned to live with the devils. (4).

Now this is the only original statement given by Ines about the religion of the Indios, all the rest he borrowed from Chirino word by word.

We must remember that Ines wrote in 1676 when the

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(1) **Colec. de doc. ined. ser 2. tom. 3. doc. 40 p. 234.** Entienden que sus animas van abaxo y dizen que es mejor porque estan mas fresco que no arriba.

(2) **Loarca p. 128.** Dicen que los que se aogan que sus almas se quedan allí en la mar para siempre y por honrra les ponen una caña alta y allí un bestido; a estos quando mueren, ahogados quando algun hijo suyo o pariente esta enfermo toman y metense en un barangay los parientes y con una baylana ques como sacerdotisa y una caxa llena de mantas y otros cosas y a donde la sacerdotisa les dice que la arrojen en la mar la arrojan pidiendo favor y ayunda a su antepasado para su enfermedad.

(3) **Chirino op. c. p. 75.** Tocan en la creación... gloria, pena y otras cosas invisibles; contando mil disparates, y aun variando mucho en decirlos.

(4) **Fray Francisco de Santa Ines.** Crónica de la provincia de San Gregorio Magno: written in 1676 published Manila 1892. page 50.

Ningun hombre (decían) iba al cielo, y que solo estaba en él Batala el Hacedor de todas las cosas, que de allí gobernaba todo el mundo. Pero que había otro lugar que llamaban Maca, como si dijéramos paraiso ó pueblo de decanso á donde iban los justos, los valiente, y los que vivían sin hacer agravio y tenían otras virtudes morales. Otro para los malos que se decía Catanaan lugar de pena y aflición y donde habitaban los demonios.

idea of heaven and hell, a place for the good and a place for the bad, could already have been spread among the Indios by the Influence of the Spaniards. Now it may be that Inés attempted only to make a commentary on the few words of Chirino, for indeed Chirino wrote: "they speak also of glory and punishment." (1).

In any case it is a fact that this description of heaven and hell is not to be found in any of the earliest documents.

7º The *Worship of the Soul* has already been treated while speaking of the worship of the Anitos.

3º THE BODY: AFTER DEATH

1.) THE FUNERAL.

Pigafetta, an eye-witness describes the ceremonies performed at the death of one of the principales of the Indios. "All the principal women of the district came to the house where the dead body lay in a coffin. Around this coffin a kind of pavilon had been raised; some of the women came to sit under it while the others drew in a circle around the house. Then one of the women came forward to cut off by degrees the hair of the deceased. Meanwhile she, who had been his first wife, stretched herself upon the dead body, mouth upon mouth, hands upon hands, feet upon feet. As long as the hair was being cut the widow lamented and wept but whenever the operation was stopped she sang. Around the house were placed many cups in which perfumes were burned. These ceremonies lasted five or six days. (2).

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(1) **Chirino op. c. p. 75.** Tocan en la creación, en el diluvio, gloria, pena.

(2) **Pigafetta op. c. p. 51-52.** Al ocurrir el fallecimiento de alguno de sus principales, se verifica la siguiente ceremonia fúnebre, que tuve ocasión de presenciar. Las mujeres mas importantes del pais, van a casa del muerto; en medio de la que está el cadaver en una caja. A su alrededor colocan unos tejidos de cuerdas para formar como una cerca ó valla, á la que atan ramas de arbol; en estas suspenden unas telas de algodon a manera de pabellones o colgaduras, y bajo estas se sientan varias mujeres cubiertas con paños blancos, tambien de algodon; al lado de cada una se coloca una doncella que la hace aire con un abanico de palma. Las demas se sientan en la habitación formando corro. Cuando todo esta asi dispuesto, una mujer corta, poco a poco, con un cuchillo los cabellos del muerto, y la que fué su esposa principal se tiende sobre el cadaver, teniendo la boca, los pies y las manos, sobre la boca, pies y manos del difunto, cuando la primera corta los cabellos, la viuda llora y cuando interrumpe la operación, canta. Alrededor de la habitación ponen muchas tazas de porcelana con fuego, sobre el que echan de cuando en cuando mirra, estoraque y benjui, con lo que se esparce por la casa un olor muy agradable. El cadaver permanece en la casa cinco o seis días en los que no cesan las citadas ceremonias.

By those ceremonies they probably wished to signify their desire to raise the dead to life again. (1).

Thus it is a fact that the corpse was kept in the house for several days.

Chirino too speaks of the lamentations and the singing. He says: "some do this because they are mourning but others for the sake of money and bands of mourners could be hired for this purpose. (2).

Chirino continues to describe the *care given to the body.* "First the dead body was carefully washed then fumigated with resin or other perfumes, last of all it was dressed in its best attire and after three days of lamentation and mourning it was buried. (3).

It seems therefore that the Indios took the greatest care of the corpses, probably to satisfy the soul. They did all that they possibly could do, to preserve the bodies from corruption.

Pigafetta says that "to preserve the corpses from corruption, the Indios rub them in with camphor oil." (4).

Chirino seems to have been well informed about this fact, for after relating the fumigation of the bodies with resin or other perfumes he gives the following important details: "others to preserve the dead bodies from corruption rubbed them in with perfumed ointments especially with the sap of a kind of weed called buyo. First the body was rubbed in all over, then the ointment was poured in the body through the mouth so that it might completely penetrate the corpse. This proceeding was so efficient that after many years corpses were found completely intact or preserved." (5). And Chirino adds: "the rich embalm their dead with perfumed liquid in particular the juice extracted from Aloes, which the Indios call "palo de Aguila" "wood of the eagle." (6).

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(1) This manner of proceeding is found in the Bible when Eliseus raised a dead child to life. (cfr. **Book of Kings.** IV C IV v. 34).

(2) **Chirino op. c. p. 107.** En muriendo, sucedía la nueva música de los endecchas y llantes, que tambien se hacen cantando, llorando los lastimados y los que no lo eran, los unos por su dolor y pena, los otros por su jornal y ganancia alquilándose para este oficio como lo usan y han usado otras naciones de mas nombre.

(3) **Chirino ibidem.** Lababan el cuerpo defunto zahumabánle con estoraque y otros zahumerios que usan mucho; poníanle los mejores vestidos qlue tenía y habiéndole tenido así tres días llorándole, le sepultaban.

(4) **Pigafetta op. c. p. 52.** Creo que para conservarlo, lo untan con aceite de alcanfor.

(5) **Chirino p. 106.** Otros le ungían con ungüentos aromáticos, que preservan de corrupción, en especial con elzuno de una yedra que llaman buyo. servan de corrupción, en especial con elzuno de una yedra... que llaman buyo. Con el zumo pues de esta ungían el cuerpo, y por la boca se lo echaban que penetrase a la interior, y con estas diligencias se han hallado muchos cuerpos al cabo de muchos años incorruptos.

(6) **Colin op. c. p. 69.** A los mas poderosos ungían y embalsamavan al uso de los Hebreos con licores aromáticos, que preservan de corrupción particularmente que se haze del ligno aloes que llaman palo de aguila.

"After these preparations the corpses were placed in wooden coffins." (1). "These coffins were made of very hard wood and tightly closed with wooden nails so that no air might enter it." (2).

Once more Colin corroborates Chirino, when he says that "the coffin, without the cover, was made of one piece cut out of the trunk of a tree." (3).

c. While speaking of the soul we mentioned the *objects which were buried with the dead.*

We wish once more to draw attention to the fact that in certain cases human sacrifices were offered.

From the text of Morga, we might conclude that this never occurred. Morga is right when he writes: "they never offered human sacrifices to the dead." (4) but if his text would be interpreted that the Indios never killed any human being, then all the early sources would protest againt this statement.

To confirm once more the fact let us quote a last testimony of the greatest value.

The narrator of the Legaspi expedition relates how Legaspi expressly "forbade the killing of slaves at funerals and other festivals, and they (the Indios) promised to abolish the custom." This barbarous act was no longer performed in public and gradually ceased as time passed." (5).

d. *Where were the corpses buried?*

Pigafetta says that the coffins were deposited in an enclosure and covered with tree trunks. (6).

Loarca says that they buried in their homes. (7).

Chirino reconciles the two testimonies "the common burial ground was the house itself or more correctly under the house,

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(1) **Loarca p. 134.** Estos naturales se entierran en unos atahudes de palo. **Pigafetta op. c. p. 52.** Después lo colocan en una caja cuya tapa fijan con clavijas de madera.

(2) **Chirino op. c. p. 108.** Metidos en ataudes de madera durísima, in corruptible, tan ajustada la tapa, que no era posible entrarle el aire.

(3) **Colin op. c. p. 69.** La caxa del ataud toda de una pieza, cavada de ordinario en el tronco de un grueso arbol.

(4) **Morga op. c. p. 197.** Jamas le sacrificaron hombres, como en otros reynos se haze.

(5) **Col. de doc. ined. ser 2. tom. 3. doc. 39 p. 114.** El governador a mandado a los de Zebu que no maten hombre ninguno, aunque sean esclavos en los enterramientos, su en otros fiestas, dándoles a entender que es malo y gran pecado, y le han prometido que ansi lo guardaran, y despues aca no se ha visto ni entendido que a ninguno maten, a lo menos públicamente o de manera que se puede saber.

(6) **Pigafetta op. c. p. 52.** Lo depositan en un lugar cercado y lo cubren con troncos de arbol.

(7) **Loarca op. c. p. 134.** Estos naturales se entierran... en sus proprias casas.

where a large pit was dug to receive the coffin; yet others were buried in the fields." (1).

Moreover Colin says that "whenever this had been the wish of the deceased, the coffin was kept in the house and deposited in the upper part of the story where precious articles were kept for safety; or the coffin was placed on the floor which was naturally built above the ground." (2).

a. *In what their mourning consist.*

We have previously seen how Pigafetta described the beginning of the mourning.

Juan de la Isla speaks of a mourning which, according to him was called "Marahazo". It consisted of shutting themselves up in the house of the nearest relatives and there they lay, covered with dirty blankets, during three days without speaking or eating but drinking occasionally. Then as long as no revenge had been taken or as long as the mourning lasted, they refused to eat anything which had approached the fire. On their arm and legs they wore bands made of bejuco. (3).

It is clear that Juan de la Isla speaks first of the mourning ceremonies preceeding the funeral and then of that which followed the funeral.

Loarca gives the following interesting details about this last mourning. "When a father, or a mother or a near relative died, as a token of mourning, the men promised not to eat rice until they had killed a man. They also promised not to drink wine made of rice; their only food consisted of bananas and camotes. They wore liana bands around their arms and neck. This kind of mourning was called "Maglahe". (4).

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(1) **Chirino op. c. p. 108.** La mas ordinaria sepultura que daban al difunto era su propia casa, á lo menos en lo bajo de ella, abriendo un gran hoyo en que ponían la caja... Otros los enterraban en el campo.

(2) **Colin op. c. p. 69.** Estos ataudes se ponían en unos de tres lugares, conforme a la inclinación y disposición del difunto. O en lo alto de la casa entre las alhajas, que allí suelen guardar, o en los baxos della levantados del suelo, o en el mismo suelo.

(3) **Doc. en ser 2. tom. 3. p. 233.** Llaman al lûto Marahaze y entre las maneras del que tienen es quando les matan algun deudo y este no le dexan hasta que le han vengado, o quando se les muere algun pariente muy cercano y esto no le dexan, quando matan hombre van en prisión muger (sic) y le cortan los cabellos, es el luto encerrarse en casa del mas principal y cercano pariente y cubiertos con unas mantas viejas y sucias se tienden en el suelo estan assi sin hablar ni comer hasta tres días, beven en este tiempo. Despues hasta aver tomado la benganza o cumplido con su ceremonia, no comen cosa que llegue al fuego, ponense en los pies y alas muñecas unas argollas de cierta madera que llaman bejuco.

(4) **Loarca p. 136.** Quando se muere padre o madre o algun pariente cercano prometían de no comer aroz hasta hacer algun cautivo avido por guerra y se ponían unas manillas de bejucos que cojían de todo el braco ques el verdadero luto y en la garganta y no bebían pitarillas sino con platanos y ca-

The mourning of the woman was called "Morotal". It was much like the mourning of the men, with the exception that the women had neither to kill any person nor to make any prisoners of war.

When time had come for the end of the mourning they went in group to a neighboring village where a carousal or drinking-bout was held. After which they were again allowed to eat rice. (1).

The mourning following the death of a principal was much more severe. All disputes and quarrels were stopped during this period; lances were carried with their point downward; beautiful clothing was prohibited and no one was allowed to sing. An enclosure was constructed around the house and no one could enter it. None transgressing this law, could claim ignorance as an excuse for the news of the death was officially announced in the village. Violation of these rules was punished without mercy. Thus when the slave of another village had violated the rules and he could not pay the fine, his master was obliged to pay it for him and the slave descended one step lower in the bonds of slavery. (2).

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(1) **Loarca p. 136.** Al luto de las mugeres llaman Morotal es de la propria manera que los hombres sino que en lugar de yr a cautivar o matar para quitarse el luto y poder comer aroz se meten con muchas mugeres en un barangay y un indio que va governando y otro que va achicando y otro que va en la proa y estos tres yndios los buscan siempre que sean yndios muy valientes que ayan hecho muchas acañes por armas y vanse a otro pueblo de amigos suyos y van cantando estos tres yndios sus hechos al son de la boga, y los esclavos que an cautivado y los hombres que an muerto en guerras y llevan el navio cargado de vino y pitarillas y llegados al pueblo conbidan a los del pueblo y los del pueblo a ellos y hacen una gran borrachera y desde entonces se quitan las mantas blancas, y las argollas de bejucos bracos y de la garganta y desde entonces se quitan el luto y comen aroz y se ponen oro.

(2) **Loarca p. 138.** Una de las leyes que esecutan con mas rigor es la que llaman Larao y es que quando se muere algun principal quieren que tengan todos luto y que guardan las cosas siguientes, que nadie riña con otro mientras que ubiera luto y mucho mas graves si riñen en el enterramiento que no traygan el yerro de la lanca hacia ariba sino hacia abajo quel puño del puñal la traygan en la pretina de suerte que ande al rebes que no traygan vestido galano ni colorado que en aquellos días no entre ningun baragay cantando sino con mucho silencio y hacen una cerca alderredor de la casa del muerto que pasa por ella y la quiebra ni mas ni menos le penan y porque venga a noticia de todos un timagua de los honrrados anda pregonando por todo el pueblo el luto porque nayde pretenda ygnorancia, y ansi que lo quebranta le ponen sin remedio si es esclavo el que pega de los que sirven fuera de casa y no tiene con que pagar paga su amo por el pero llévale a su casa que le sirva y le hace ayoey. Estas leyes dicen que les dexo Lubluhan y Panas.

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motes y su sustentavan hasta que cautivavan o matavan a alguno que entonces se quitavan el luto y acaecía estar desta manera un año sin comer aroz de suerte que se paravan muy magantos y flacos... este luto llaman ellos entre si Maglahe.

It is Chirino who tells us how the order for this mourning was communicated. The inhabitants of the river placed a signal on the river-bank to inform the village that no one could pass on penalty of death. According to the same writer this capital punishment was even applied to any one who dared break the silence. (1).

According to Chirino this mourning was stricter than the mourning described by Loarca, for the widow, the children, the relatives and those who were closely related to the dead were obliged to keep a fast: meat, fish, any kind of sweet-meats were prohibited, they could eat vegetables only and even this but in very small quantities. (2). As a sign of mourning the Visayas cut their hair and eyebrows, which could certainly not be to their advantage. (3). The color used for mourning differed, for the Visayas it was white while for the Tagalogs black. (4)

b. *The length of the period of mourning.*

It seems that the mourning lasted until a prisoner of war had been captured. This was even the case when the deceased had died a natural death. Loarca says that when father or mother died, the children promised not to eat rice as long as they had not captured a prisoner in war. (5). But when the deceased had been killed in time of war or in time of peace the period of mourning lasted until the children, the brothers, and the relatives had killed a great number of other persons, and these murders were committed not only on their enemies but on any one who happened to come accros their way. They acted as bandits and it was only when their thirst for blood had been satisfied that their period of mourning came to an end. (6).

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(1) **Chirino op. c. p. 103.** En orden á esto mismo los pueblos de revera ponían a la orilla del rio una señal para que nadie navegase por el ni entrase ni saliese, so pena de la vida; la cual quitaban con grandísima crueldad violentamente a cualquiera que rompiese este silencio.

(2) **Chirino op. c. p. 108.** La viuda ó viudo y los guerfanos y otros deudos a quien tocaba mas el dolor ayunaban por luto, absteniéndose de carne, pescado y otros manjares no comiendo aquellos días sino legumbres y esas en poca cantidad.

(3) **Chirino op. c. p. 108.** A que juntan los Bisayas reparse cabeza y cejas que cierto los hace feos.

(4) **Pigafetta op. c. p. 52.** Se sientan varias mujeres cubiertos con paños blancos, tambien de algodon.

Chirino op. c. p. 108. El luto entre los Tagalos es negro, entre los Bisayas blanco.

(5) **Loarca p. 136.** Quando se muere padre o madre o algun pariente cercano prometian de no comer aroz hasta hacer algun cautivo avido por guerra.

(6) **Chirino op. c. p. 109.** Si el muerto lo había sido con violencia en guerra ó en paz con traicon o de otro modo no se quitaban los lutos, ni se alzaba el entredicho, hasta que los hijos, hermanos, o deudos mataban otros muchos, no solo de los enemigos, y homicidas, sino de cualesquiera otros extraños que no fuesen amigos, como foragidos o bandoleros que solteaban la tierra y mar y andaban á caza de hombres, matando los que podían, hasta hartar su furia.

Still it was not for everyone a time of mourning and fasting. There were funeral meals.

Chirino says: "As soon as the funeral ceremony was over the lamentations stopped, but banquets and drinking-bouts lasted according to the wealth of the deceased." (1).

Morga agrees to this when he says that after "their weeping was over everything turned into eating and drinking." (2).

It was during these funeral ceremonies and drinkingbouts that the heroic deeds of the deceased were celebrated in songs; and when the dead had been killed in battle, he became especially the object of the highest praise during the funeral meals. (3).

3. VENERATION

When the funeral ceremonies and the time of mourning was over, the corpses remained the object of the greatest care. The cruel murder committed by the Cebuanos on May 23, 1565, on the Spaniard Pedro de Arana, was this not in a revenge for the violation of the graves which had been forbidden by Legaspi but a few days before on May 16, 1565. (4).

The very fact that the graves were made in an enclosure (5) and that the pit in which the coffin was deposited was surrounded with a fence (6) is an evident proof that the Indios took great care of their dead.

Moreover we know that the Indios kept the corpses among their trea sures in their homes (7) and Morga testifies to the honor paid to their bones. He says that the skulls of the ancestors were venerated as if the deceased were still living among them. (8).

It seems as if the narrator of the "Conquista of Luzon" wishes to contradict this last statement yet he dared not pronounce himself definitely upon it, he says: "It seems to me that

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(1) **Chirino p. 108.** Hecho el entierro cesaban los llantos pero no cesaban las comidas y embriagueees, antes duraban mas o menos tiempo conforme a la calidad del difunto.

(2) **Morga op. c. p. 197.** Despues de llorado el difunto, todo se convertia en comida y borrachera.

(3) **Chirino op. c. p. 108.** Los que morían en la guerra eran celebrados en sus llantos y en las exequias que les celebraban, durando mucho ofrecer sacrificios á ellos ó por ellos y con muchos convites y embriagueces.

(4) With regard to this murder see **Doc. Ined. serie 2. tom. 2. doc. 27 p. 347** where the narrative of the murder can be found.

(5) **Pigafetta op. c. p. 52.** Lo depositan en un lugar cercado.

(6) **Chirino op. c. p. 108.** Abriendo un gran hoyo en que ponían la caja; y poniendo una barandilla en cerco del hoyo.

(7) **Colin op. c. p. 69.** Estos ataudes se ponían lo alto de la casa entre las alhajas que allí suelen guardar.

(8) **Morga op. c. p. 197.** Enterravan sus muertos en sus propias casas, teniendo en cajas sus cuerpos y huesos mucho tiempo. Y venerando sus calaveras, como si fueran vivos y los tuvieran presentes.

the Indios did not adore the skulls." (1) Most probably the Indios did not adore the skulls but we think that Morga is right and that the skulls were treated with the greatest veneration as a relic of the deceased.

4º THE RACES AND SOCIAL CLASSES.

According to Loarca the mountaineers or Tinguianes; the middle class between the principales and the slaves, had an explanation for the existence of the different races of men and of the different social classes. According to them, the first father, on returning home one day, was very angry and threatened his children. Upon which the latter fled. Some took refuge in the distant corners of the house, others near the entrance, others hid themselves between the walls which were made of bamboo, still others fled near the hearth and the remainder ran out of doors towards the sea.

Now according to the Tinguianes the descendants of the first are the *principales* of the land, the descendants of the second are the present *Timaguas* (2) the children of the third are the *slaves*, other descendants of those who took refuge near the hearth are the *Negritos* and the descendants of those who fled towards the sea are the *Spaniards* who at length returned to their land." (3). Legaspi relates the same story. (4).

E. NATURE.

1º *How did the Indios represent the world to themselves?*

They had a notion of the world being made up of seas and islands. Above these was the firmament or the heavens and between the two a bridge: the rainbow, by way of which the souls passed over from this world to the next to take their place among the gods. (5) According to Loarca this was the conception which the Indios had.

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(1) **Archivo del Bibl. Filip. tom. IV.** "Relación de la Conquista de luzon." p. 30. o me paresce que tienen ni entre ellos se usa adorar animales, estrellas, ny calabernas, ny otras cosas que suelen adorar muchos gentiles idolatras.

(2) **The Timaguas are the free men,** who occupy a social position between the principales and the slaves.

(3) **Loarca.** Segunda opinión de los Serranos que llaman Tinguianes. p. 126.

(4) **Gaspar de San Agustin. "Conquista" Vol. I. p. 196 b.**

Que enojados los padres, queriendo echarlos de casa, comencaron a darlos de palo, con que los hijos se escaparon; unos metiéndose en los retretes de la casa, y de estos descienden los Datos, que son los principales (como entre nosotros los Grandes o Titulados) otros se baxaron por la escalera, y destos descienden los Timaguas, que son la gente Plebeya; y de los hijos que quedaron escondidos en la cosina, dizen que descienden los esclavos.

(5) **Loarca p. 128.** La alma dellos se suben por el arco que se haze quando llueve al cielo y si tornan dioses.

2° *Origin of the World.*

Loarca is the only source giving some informations about this. Others like Colin and Inés have only quoted him word by word.

Chirino mentions the fact in two words: "They speak of the origin of the world." (1).

Thus we will turn to Loarca who communicates the following. He at first distinguishes between the conception of the seacost dwellers and the conception of the mountaineers. Now this is quite reasonable as the population of the Philippine Islands, the Negritos excluded, is made up of Malays who invaded the land at different epochs. The immigrating people drove the first inhabitants farther and farther into the interior. (2). This explains the enmity existing between the two peoples. (3). According to the seacost dwellers, heaven and earth had no beginning (4) and the earth would have no end. (5) At the beginning the land-wind and sea-wind were upon earth; it was the land-wind who brought life into the world for it was he who bore the reed or the bamboo out of which the first man and woman sprang. (6).

The inhabitants of the mountains believed in a different story which was adopted by Colin (7) and Inés (8) in their writings.

According to the Tinguianes or Mountaineers, when nothing else but heaven and sea existed, there was a kite which not knowing where to alight resolved to excite heaven and sea against each other. Then the sea raised up her waters, but heaven made peace and to take revenge upon the sea, heaven threw the islands in the sea to subjugate her and prevent her from raising up her waters again. From this day dates the "Maravis" which signifies revenge for a suffered injury. This became very general all over the islands so that revenge has become a question of honor. (9).

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(1) **Chirino op. c. p. 75.** Tocan en la creación del Mundo.

(2) **Cfr. Blumentritt.** "Las razas del archipiélago Filipino." Madrid 1890. passim—especially p. 1.

(3) **Loarca p. 120.** Ay dos diferencias de hombres en esta tierra que aunque son todos unos se tratan algun tanto diferentemente y casi siempre son enemigos los Unos los que viven en las marinas y los otros los que viven en las serranias.

(4) **Loarca p. 120.** Los de la playa qque llaman yligueynes tienen por opinión que el cielo y tierra no tubo principio.

(5) **Loarca p. 132.** Tienen quel mundo nunca sea de acavar.

(6) **Loarca p. 120.** El viento terral y el de la mar se casaron y el de la tierra gomito una caña.

(7) **Colin op. c. p. 66.**

(8) **Ines op. c. p. 50.**

(8) **Inés op. c. p. 50.**

mas de mar y cielo un milano como no tenía a donde posarse determino de

3º *What relation existed between nature and the higher beings?*

What position did Bathala occupy in regard to Nature? As previously stated Bathala was the Lord of all, (1) the Creator of everything. (2).

But when we read that "heaven and earth had no beginning" (3) we meet once more with one of the Indios inconsequences in matter of religion.

As was previously stated according to Inés, Bathala ruled the world from heaven (4) yet this statement in this form is nowhere found in the early documents where it is said that Bathala sent his servants upon earth to minister unto man. (5). Thus nothing is said of the rule himself or the government of nature.

It seems that one of their gods, namely Captan, was an enemy of man, and out of jealousy for the good things which nature produced; "He sent over diseases and even death among them because he had never eaten nor drunk of any product of nature." (6). Of the relation of the spirits and man with nature we shall speak later.

There is a last questionto be solved: To whom did the products of nature belong? In theory to Bathala, since Bathala was the Lord and Maker of men and villages. (7). In practice to the man who first dared to put his hands on it. The first who cultivated the land had full right to its products. (8).

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(1) **Loarca p. 170.**

(2) **Chirino p. 75.**

(3) **Conquista p. 28.**

(4) **Iñez op. c. p. 50.** De alli gobernaba todo el mundo.

(5) **Loarca p. 120.** Batala muchos ministros que enviaba a este mundo a hobrar por ellos.

(6) **Loarca p. 132.** Les da enfermedades y los mata y dicen que por que no a comido cosa deste mundo ni bevido pitarillas no los quiere bien y los mata.

(7) **Loarca p. 170.** Batala era señor de todo y que havia hecho los hombres el los pueblos.

(8) **Juan de Plasencia.** "Los Costumbres de los Tagalos" written in 1598, published by Pardo de Tavera in "Revista Contemporanea" Madrid 1892.—Also by Retana in "Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas of Morga."—Also by Retana in "Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas of Morga." Quotation according to Retana: p. 471.

"Quien comienca a arrozar una tierra la siembre, y no se la pueden quitar."

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revolver al cielo y la mar, por cuya causa la mar quiso hacer guerra al cielo y ynchándose hacia arriva el cielo biendo aquesto trato paces con la mar y despues por vengarse del atrevemiento que avia tenido de yncharse hacia ariva dicen que arojo todas estas yslas deste Archipiélago sobre la mar, para domiñarla y que corriese la mar de una parte para otra y no se pudiese ynchar, y de aqui tubo el principio el maravis que es vengarse uno de otro que le a hecho injuria que es cosa muy usada en esta tierra y lo tienen por punto el no satisfacerse.

We say "dare" because often fear of the spirits withheld them from taking possession of the good things offered them by nature. This will appear from what will be said in the following paragraph.

4° *Animism.*

Now comes the question: In what relation did man and the spirits stand in regard to nature?

Can we attribute to the Indios the opinion which is called by the modern scholars: Animism?

What is meant by Animism? This cannot be more clearly answered than by the well known definition given by Leonce de Grandmaison.

> "L'Animisme qui est plutot une croyance une mentalité, un systeme rudimentaire de représentation qu'une doctrine élaborée, consiste a imaginer partout derriére les objects sensibles, une vie, une activité.—par extension une volonté des pouvoirs et des passions—plus on moins calqués sur le type humain, antropomorphique." (1).

The translation: "Animism which is more of a belief, or mentality, a primitive system of representation than an elaborate doctrine, consists in imagining everywhere in all sensible objects a life, a vitality—by extension a will of the powers and of the passions; it is more or less a copy of the human antropomorphic type. (1).

As to the facts: the Indios revered the sun, the Moon (2) and Inés adds the stars. (3). The rainbow was endowed with a divine character (4) and personified and honored as a god. (5).

The Indios also honored birds and animals.

The Tagalogs honored a blue bird about as large as a

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(1) **Leonce de Grandmaison.** "Christus" L'Etude des Religions Paris 1921. p. 12-13.

(2) **Chirino p. 76 quoted by Colin op. c. p. 64.** Adoravan como los Asirios al sol, y la luna.

Morga op. c. p. 197. Otros adoravan el sol y la luna, haziendo fiestas y borracheras en la conjunción.

Gonzales de Mendoza: "Historias de las cosas de China" Madrid 1586 Itinerario p. 147. Adoraban (los Indios) tambien el sol y la luna cuyos eclipses se celebraban con comillonas y embriaguez, fiestas que llamaban Magaduras.

(3) **Inés op. c. p. 49.** Algunos adoraban a las estrellas, a las siete estrellas que nosotros llamamos el carro.

(4) **Chirino p. 76.** Al arco del cielo atribuían su manera de divinidad.

(5) **Loarca p. 132.** Estos ynvocan al Varangao ques el arco del cielo y a Ynaguinid y a Macanduc sus dioses.

thrush, which they called: Bathala. (1). They also honored the raven which they called Meilupa signifying: Soil. (2) The crocodile was especially in honor with the Indios, and when it was seen in the water the Indios called it "Nono" grandfather; and they begged it in a gentle manner to leave them unharmed. When the Indios sailed on the water they threw to it a part of their food which they had on board. (3). The Indios professed also a kind of cult for the trees. For instance they would never cut down an old tree for this amounted to a sacrilege in their eyes. (4). The rocks, the stones, the cliffs, the jetties on the bank of the river or on the shores of the sea, all these were also worshipped by the Indios who offered them sacrifices while sailing along, and offerings were placed on the stones in order to have a safe passage. (5).

Chirino relates how he himself had seen plates and other chinaware placed on the rocks and how in Mindanao he found about 4000 arrows which had been shot in a rock in the lapse of one year. (6).

For the sake of truth we have also to quote the writer of the Conquista who says: "It does not seem that the Indios adored the stars and the animals." (7). But now we have to add that his reserved supposition does not seem to outweigh the positive declarations of Chirino, Morga and Loarca.

Thus we may say that the testimonies prove that the Indios attributed a soul to the stars, the meteors, the animals, the plants and the stones.

The Indios were the witnesses of facts: the sun, moon and stars regulated their life and were beneficial; some animals were malicious as for instance the caiman and the raven; the trees

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(1) **Chirino op. c. p. 76.** Los Tagalos adoraban un pajaro azul, del grandor de un tordo y le llamaban Bathala, que ese entre ellos nombre de divinidad. **Morga op. c. p. 197** says that it was a bird of a yellow color "pintado de amarillo."

(2) **Chirino ibid.** Al cuervo adoraban llamándole Meilupa que quiere decir el dueño del suelo.

(3) **Chirino ibid.** Al caiman tenían en grandísimo veneración y en todo su juicio cuando le veían en el agua, lo llamaban nono que quiere decir agüelo. Rogabanle regaladamente y con ternura que no les hiciese mal; y a eso fin le ofrecían algo de lo que traían en sus barca.

(4) **Chirino op. c. p. 76.** No habia arbol viejo a quien no atribuyen divinidad y era sacriligeio pensar cortarlo lo por ningun caso.

(5) **Chirino op. c. p. 76.** A las mismas piedras, peñas, escollos, y puntos de orillas del mar y de los rios adoraban y ofrecían algo al pasar, llegándose, y poniéndolo sobre la misma piedra o peñasco.

(6) **Chirino op. c. p. 76.** Vi sobre una peña platos y otras piezas de loza, que le ofrecían los navigantes. Yo vi con mis ojos hincadose de nuevo en menos de un año mas de cuatro mil flechas.

(7) **Conquista p. 30.** No me paresce que tienen ni entre ellos se usa adorar ánimales, ny estrellas, ny calabernas, ny otras cosas que suelen adorar muchos gentiles ydolatras.

could sing and howl in such a mysterious manner under the blows of the wind; so many accidents happened on the river and on the sea because of the rocks and of the cliffs, and the Indios thought that all these consequences must have a cause, that there must be a living being or a spirit who occasioned all this, and that this spirit must be endowed with a will which could do good or harm, and that this spirit could be made propitious through offerings.

Therefore all that the Indios could not explain, or that which they dreaded became for them the acts of invisible beings, or spirits. It was in reality Animism.

But in what relation stood these spirits to nature?

Those elements of nature, and those objects of nature were they the dwelling place of the spirits, or did the spirits animate them so as to form one whole with them? In *other* words did the spirits but simply dwell in those elements or objects or did they completely animate them?

This question is rather difficult to answer considering the little information given on this subject. Yet we may try to explain it. It is most probable that the two suppositions are admissible. For instance we know that the Rainbow was sometimes considered a divine person. It may be that the great elements of nature and heaven such as the sun, the moon, the stars and the rainbow were really considered animated spirits. While on the other hand we know that the Indios made small statues in memory of their dead, and that these statues were considered the dwelling place of the spirits since offerings were brought before them in honor of the Anitos. (1).

It has been stated that "there were anitos of the sea, of the rivers, of the fields etc. etc." (2). Therefore there should be no wonder if the old trees, the rocks, the cliffs and the stones were regarded as being the dwelling place of those Anitos. And it seems quite natural that the Indios should have thought of some evil anitos having entered into malicious animals.

5° *Worship of Nature.*

These animated elements of nature, or these animals or objects, which were supposed to be the temporary residence of the spirits became the object of fear and veneration on account

(1) Chirino op. c. p. 75. En memoria destos tenian sus idolillos pequeñuelos. A los cualles tenian recurso en sus necessidades y les ofrecían sus barbaros sacrificios.

(2) Even today do the pagans not ask permission from the Anitos to pass before certain trees and bamboos? This certainly happens every day in the Mountain Province.

of the benefits which the Indios could expect from them or because of the evil which they dreaded.

Now let us say a word about the relation of these spirits and men with regard to nature.

The inferior parts of nature such as animals, and plants became the home of the spirits from which they exercised their influence upon man.

Man in nature felt himself surrounded by higher forces and spirits from whom depended his well-being or his misfortune. Thus he moved in nature with dread and fear. The Indios considered nature a theatre upon which the spirits manifested their power. Therefore the Indios were imbued with the greatest respect for nature: they would not cut the holy trees, nor destroy the rocks or stones or cliffs; they would not kill certain animals but spoke to them with fear in a respectful position. Thus Morga relates that the Indios fell upon their knees before the Caiman. (1). In addition to this the Indios made offerings to nature; to the caiman they offered the victuals which they had in their boat (2) ; upon the rocks they placed plates (3) and to the cliffs they shot arrows as an offering. And all this was done to obtain the favour of the spirits who dwelt in them.

6º *Conclusion.*

Despite the fact that it was true as stated by Loarca: "that the Indios sole solicitude was to avoid poverty" (4) and that their whole life was but pure materialism, the Indios were nevertheless convinced that their whole existence was in the hands of the spirit world; and in their whole activity they went bent with fear under the influence of the other world.

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(1) **Chirino op. c. p. 76.** Le ofrecían algo de lo que traían en su barca, echandoselo al agua.

(2) **Chirino op. c. p. 76.** Vi en la punta que llaman Nasso sobre una peña platos y otros puzas de loza que le ofrecían los navegantes.

(3) **Chirino ibidem.** Le ofrecían flechas disparadas con fuerza que las hincaban en la misma peña.

(4) **Loarca p. 130.** Por donde se vera quando poco se les dava por ser buenos o malos y quanta Razon tenian de aborrecer la proveca.

CHAPTER II. MORALS

I. IN GENERAL

A. NOTION.

1° *Notion of Good and Evil.*

Loarca says that "the Indios did not trouble themselves in the least in regard to a virtuous or an evil life." (1) But this does not mean that they could not distinguish between good and evil; no, this quotation of Loarca leads us only to the conclusion that the notion which they had of good and evil had not the least influence on their daily life.

2° *On what was this distinction between good and evil based?*

Certain things were called good, others bad, accordingly as they were prescribed or prohibited by law. The Indios had received their laws from their ancestors and the elders interpreted them.

Loarca says that "the laws by which they were ruled had been transmitted to them by the woman Lubluban, who was the grand-daughter of the first parents, those laws could only be intepreted by the chiefs who were also obliged to see to their execution." (2).

Other things were considered as good or bad in as much as they served or injured the interests of the higher classes. Thus for instance who dared to injure the wife of a principal was punished with slavery. (3).

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(1) Loarca op. c. p. 130. Poco se les dava por ser buenos o malos.

(2) Loarca op. c. p. 140. Dicen que las leyes por que se an governado hasta agora se las dexo Lubluban—y destas leyes son defensores y executores solos los principales.

(3) Loarca p. 144. Las leyes que tienen para penar a uno hasta hacerle esclavo —por deshonrrar de palabra alguna mujer principal.

Some things again were considered good, such as offerings to the spirits; and others were considered bad: for instance cutting down an old tree, in as much as they were pleasing or displeasing to the spirits.

Other things were considered as good or bad in as much as customs of the land; for instance: not to go with their neighbours to cultivate the common land. (1).

3º *In general what was considered good and what as bad?* All acts affording any advantage were considered good while the acts which might be prejudiced or disadvantageous to the interèsts of man be it in regard to his possessions or in regard to his honor as understood by the Indios; all these acts were considered bad.

This conclusion can best be gathered from the crimes brought before justice: "These were especially thefts and the thieves were sometimes punished with death; or insults, because in the eyes of the Indios more discredit could be reflected upon the principales and the women by injurious words than by any other offense, and these words were hardly ever forgotten." (2).

B. CONSCIENCE.

1º Not the least clue can be found of a *conscience* which might have spoken to the Indios in an obliging or in an admonishing tone, or in *a manner of discharge or of condemnation.*

When the Indios abstained from an act, this was not because they received a warning from the interior, or from their own personality, or because they felt that this act was bad in itself; no, it was only because they feared a personal injury in case they should perform this act. This will be clearly proved while speaking of the abuses committed in marriage. Thus for instance "they indulged in the basest crimes with persons of the same social position, a thing which they would not dare to do with persons of a higher rank, because in this case they feared the revenge of the chief." (3).

2º *Hence it follows that they had no high sense of duty.*

To do something because it is considered a duty, without

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(1) **Colin p. 71.** Sus leyes—consistían en tradiciones—como seguir los particulares al comun, hasta los niños.

(2) **Morga op. c. p. 195.** Los delitos se castigavan a pedimiento de los agraviados; en particular los hurtos con mas severidad haziendo esclavos á los ladrones y á vezes matándoles; y lo mismo, las injurias por palabra; particularmente hechas a los principales, teniendo entre si muchas cosas y palabras por de suma injuria y escarnio, dichas a hombres y mugeres, que se perdonavan peor, y con mas dificultad, que las hechas en la persona, hiriendo o ofendiendo por obra.

(3) **Morga op. c. p. 195.** Los amancebamientos no se hazia caso dellos, como no fuese de Timagua en persona de principal.

taking into account the advantages or disadvantages which might result from it, was unknown to the Indios. To prove this it will be sufficient to draw the attention once more to their worship of the ancestors. "The ancestors were invoked only in time of necessity, otherwise they (the Indios) bothered very little about them and the veneration which they owed to them." (1).

3° *How did the parents look upon the faults of their children.*

Here also we find that same selfish conception of life. If the faults of the children were detrimental to the interests of the parents, they were forbidden, but when no disadvantage might result from them especially when any advantage might be obtained through them, these faults of the children, instead of being forbidden were on the contrary encouraged by the parents. Thus for instance Loarca says: "the girls are allowed to commit any offense in the presence of their mother without being punished." (2). Morga testifies also to the fact that "the children are allowed to do all kind of evil, and that neither the parents nor the brothers, nor any member of the family would prevent them whenever they can gain any advantage out of it." (3).

C. THE LAW.

1° *Natural Law.*

It looks as if some vestiges of the natural law could be found, but this law had lost much of its severity. The relation between the Indios and the Supreme Being has been previously mentioned in the first chapter, thus we know how far they stood in regard to the first commandment.

Their respect for their parents went so far that the deceased were numbered among the spirits (4) and to speak disrespectfully to a principal or chief might be punished with death. (5).

Capital punishment was also attached to murder at least in theory. (6). Stealing was especially abhorred so much so that "among the natives, there existed a law against theft." (7). Yet the Indios were not so very particular about purity, as we

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(1) **Loarca p. 172.** Durava—el tiempo que le durava la enfermedad.
Ibidemp. 130. Quando alguno esta enfermo por sementeras o por sus guerras hacen sus sacrificios.

(2) **Loarca p. 118.** Ninguna cosa se les da de ser ruynes delante de las madres porque por esto no se les da ningun castigo.

(3) **Mora op. c. p. 196.** Sin que entre ellos sea cosa de sentimiento ni lo hagan los padres, hermanos, ni deudos, mayormente si ay materia de interése

(4) **Chirino op. c. p. 75.** Y generalmente cualquiera que podía salir con ello atribuía divinidad a su padre viejo.

(5) **Loarca p. 178** El que discomedia al principal tenia pena de muerte.

(6) **Loarca p. 184.** Era ley al que matava a otro que muriese.

(7) **Loarca p. 178.** Era ley entre los naturales cerca de los ladrones.

shall see this later, but still they committed "no impurity against nature as long as they remained free from contact with the Chinese and the Japanese (1). The attention has already been drawn to the fact that slanderous and defamatory language was particularly odious to the Indios; and that these injuries were considered more grievous than any offense by action. (2).

The documents do not mention any offense or fault committed in thought or in desire.

2º *Who promulgated the moral laws* or the moral prescriptions or obligations?

Bathala is now here mentioned as legislator, more over, it has already been stated, that he troubled himself very little about men. According to the Indios' conception, their Moral laws came from their forefathers. Hence Chirino could write with all truth that "their administration or government and their religion were based on tradition." (3). And Morga agrees to this when he says that "all the laws of the Islands are based on tradition and on the customs of their forefathers." (4).

Loarca mentions several names of legislators. For instance, the custom by which a slave was killed at the death of a chief, was introduced by a certain chief called Marapan. One day this Marapan asked for some grass and a slave threw him a piece of bamboo which wounded Marapan, who died from his wounds. Now Marapan ordered that at his death this slave with all his children should be killed. From that time dates the custom of killing slaves at the death of a Principal. (5). It is also a known fact that Lubluban and Panos prescribed the law of mourning (6) and that Lubluban was considered one of the greatest legislators. (7).

Hence it seems that the right to make laws was handed down to the chiefs. Loarca testifies to this fact when he says: "In each district there are chiefs whom the people obey. They

(1) **Writer of the "Conquista" p. 30.** Entre estos hasta oy no se ha sentido ningun pecado contra natura que no es poco entre gente tan barbara.

(2) **Morga op. c. p. 195.** Teniendo entre si muchas cosas y palabras por de suma injuria y escarnio—que se perdonavan peor—que las hechas en la persona hiriendo o ofendiendo por obra.

(3) **Chirino op. c. p. 74.** Todo su gobierno y Religión se funda en tradición.

(4) **Morga op. c. p. 192.** Sus leyes, en todas las islas son de la misma manera por tradiciónes y costumbres de los antiguos.

(5) **Loarca op. c. p. 136.** A mas de diez mil años un principal que se llaman Marapan—pidió a un esclavo suyo un poco de zacate para limpiarse y el esclavo le arojo una caña grande de carricco y parece que le acerto en una rodilla—de aquel achaque dicen que murió y antes que muriese dexo mandado que quando el muriese matasen aquel esclavo y a todos sus hijos y de aquí quedo introducido el matar esclavos quando se mueren los Principales.

(6) **Loarca p. 140.** Estas leyes dicen que les dixo Lubluban y Panas.

(7) **Loarca p. 140.** Dicen que las leyes—se las dexo Lubluban.

punish the malefactors and enact laws which everyone is obliged to obey." (1).

Chirino insinuates another source which might have been the origin of their moral obligations. He says that the religion of the Indios was based on tradition and "also on customs introduced by the devil who by means of the idols and the priests communicated with the Indios." (2).

This question of the devil and of his action upon the Indios will not be discussed at present, yet we wish to stipulate here the fact that some moral obligations might have been introduced by priests who gave their decisions and orders as coming from a higher being, from a spirit or an anito.

3º *Who were subject to these laws and prescriptions?*

After a careful examination of the sources with regard to this question, we reach the conclusion that most of the laws bound all persons of the different social classes, yet privileges, in the application of the penalty, were reserved for the chiefs. For instance: "a principal could be prosecuted for theft, murder and adultery, but he could not be made a slave as in the case of others who could not pay the fine. A chief or principal could be fined for each misdeed committed towards a slave or a timagua." (3).

4º *Were those moral obligations of the Indios related to their religion* or did they stand next to it?

It is hardly believed that the moral laws and moral obligations of the Indios had anything to do with their religious ideas. The Indios did not consider those laws as commands of a Supreme Legislator; they did not keep those laws in obedience to the will of a Supreme Being; their fidelity in the performance of those laws was not a proof of their subjection, respect and love towards Bathala the Almighty Lord, Creator of all things. No, the Indios accepted those laws "partly out of devotion for their forefathers, partly out of fear to displease them and partly

(1) **Loarca p. 174.** Avia principales en sus barrios a quien obedecían que castigavan sus delitos, y les davan las leyes que avían de guardar.

(2) **Chirino p. 74.** Todo su gobierno y Religion se funda en tradición y en uso introducido del mismo demonio que les hablaba en sus ídolos y en sus ministros.

(3) **Loarca p. 144-146.** Si el ladron hace algun hurto grande penan a El y a todo su parentela, digo los que son mas cercanos parientes y si por muerte o por adulterio a toda su parentela penan, y si no tienen conque pagar los hacen esclavos.

Esta ley pasava entre todos los mismos principales de suerte que si un principal comete algun delitto aunque sea contra su mismo esclavo o timagua lo penan de la misma manera, pero no vienen a ser esclavos porque no tienen conque pagar la pena.

because of the old customs so as not to go against the usual way of doing things, and also partly out of fear, to avoid punishment. (1).

D. RETRIBUTION.

1º According to Chirino, the Indios had a *notion of retribution,* which seems to signify that they accepted the reward for good deeds and punishment for evil ones. Indeed Chirino writes "they speak of glory and of punishment." (2).

Morga is more explicit about this subject, he says: "they believe in another life where the valiant and those who have performed noble deeds will be rewarded while those who have performed evil will be punished. Yet they do not know how and where this shall happen." (3).

The first part of this statement: reward of the valiant, is confirmed in the report of Loarca, when it is said that "those who were killed by a lance or by the Caiman, or by an arrow which was considered to be an honorable death, would ascend to heaven by way of the rainbow to take their place among the spirits. (4). Yet nowhere is there question of a hell for the bad. It is true that they believed that the poor could be thrown into eternal captivity (5) but no mention is made of punishment which would be the result of a sinful life; and even less of a heaven where according to Inés, "would go those who had never done harm to any one and who had been examples of moral virtues." (6).

The views of Loarca, who was a careful examiner of the facts, are quite different. He says that "the good and the bad were alike brought before the God Sisiburan and that those who could afford to offer a sacrifice were delivered out of the underworld, while the others were devoured or thrown into everlasting captivity. From this we can easily conclude how little

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(1) **Colin op. c. p. 71.** Sus leyes—toda consistía en tradiciones y costumbres guardadas con tanta puntualidad que no se juzgava posible quebrantarlas de ninguna manera, como el respetar a los padres y mayores: seguir los particulares al comun, hasta los niños, y otras cosas.

See also **Inés op. c. p. 52.** It is literally the same.

(2) **Chirino op. c. p. 75.** Tocan en la creación—gloria, pena.

(3) **Morga op. c. p. 197.** Creían que avia otra vida, con premio para los que mal avian hecho, pero no sabían como, ni donde esto fuese.

(4) **Loarca p. 128.** Dicen que los que mueren a puñaladas o los come algun caiman o a flechado que es muerte muy honrada, y que las almas dellos se suben por el arco—y se tornan dioses.

(5) **Loarca p. 130.**

(6) **Inés p. 50.** Había otro lugar que llamaban Marca a donde iban los justos, los valiantes, y los que vivian sin hacer agravio y tenían otras virtudes morales.

3. *The Superiors and the Inferiors.*

"The civil authority called: "Principales" governed their subjects and assisted them in all their necessities." With these words Morga summarizes the obligations of the superiors towards their inferiors. (1). Now this statement is in perfect accordance as we retrace the different relations of the discoverers with the natives.

Pigafetta speaks of the king of Cebu who entered into negotiations with the men of Magellan's fleet, (2) and in the narrative of the Legaspi expidition, we read continually that it was the "Principal" who, in the name of the people entered into negotiation with the Spamards. (3).

When a treaty was concluded between the Spaniards and the inhabitants of Cebu, it was the Principales who promised to keep the articles and they made these obligation in the name of the inhabitants. (4).

Whenever the Indios came to trade with the crew of the ship "San Lucas" they were always accompanied by a Principal as a warder, and the Spaniards could only buy from the Indios through his intervention. (5).

It was also to the Principales that Legaspi had recourse when he wished to get provisions for his crew. (6).

The principales commanded: This is proved by the fact that "a Principal who had been taken prisoner commanded his subjects, from the other side of the river, to come to him, and they obeyed. (7).

But the authority and power was not always exercised by the Principales in person for Morga says: "They (the princi-

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(1) **Morga op. c. p. 191.** Su oficio era, regir y governar sus subditos y parciales y acudir a sus causas y necesidades.

(2) **Pigafetta op. c. p. 38.** El rey hizo preguntar a los nuestros por medio de su gobernador o ministro con que objeto habiamos ido a su pais y que queríamos.

(3) **Colección de documentos inéditos. ser 2. tom. II.** p. 274, p. 255, p. 258; and tom. III. p. 30-31; tom. III. p. 96; p. 99.

(4) **Collección de doc. ined. ser 2. tom. 3. p. 103.** Todas las dichas condiciones e cada una dellas los dichos Principales dixeron: que lo aceptaban por si, y en nombre de los demas principales y naturales desta Isla.

(5) **Col. ser 2. tom. 3. p. 35.** Y siempre venía con ellos un Principal como guarda, para que no se desmandasen ninguno dellos, y ansi todas las demas cosas rescataban por mano de este.

(6) **Col. ser 2. tom. 3. p. 150.** Después de haver apaciguado este motin el governador mandó y rogó a los Indios principales de Zebu, que fuesen a buscar comida comprada.

(7) **Col. ser 2. tom. 3. p. 132.** El Indio (Principal) les habló a los que estavan de la otra parte del rio, y le dixeron que si vernían de paz y luego pasaron cinco Indios dellos a donde estava el maestro de campo.

pales) had subaltern officers called Datos, who were in charge of the different services in the district of the Principales." (1).

The Principales made the laws and punished the criminals (2). According to Morga the right which the principales exercised over their subjects was really tyrannical. They had absolute power and could treat their subjects as they pleased. They could dispose at will without any responsibility, of the persons, the children and the wealth of their subjects, and for a mere trifle they were capable of killing or wounding their subjects dragging them into slavery. It was enough to pass by the women of the Principales while they were bathing in the river, or to look upon them with less respect to be treated as a slave in the future. (3).

Was this authority acknowledged by the subjects?, in other words: What were the feelings of the people towards their Principales? At a first glance it seems as if the different sources do not agree on this point.

Loarca declares that the inferiors were submissive (4) and Morga says that they did not only obey but even respected their superiors. (5).

In history we find several instances of this respect shown to the chiefs. For example "A Principal called Tiban although he was merely twenty years old, was respected by the others." (6). The same writer: Alfonso de Arellano, relates still of another "Principal who was respected by all" (7) and the whole history of the landing at Cebu shows how the natives respected, helped and obeyed their Principal Tupas. (8).

But there are still other accounts which seem to contradict

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(1) **Morga op. c. p. 191.** Retenían en si, el señorío y govierno particular de su parcialidad, a que entre elles llaman Barangai, teniendo datos y otros mandadores particulares, que acuden a los ministros del Barangay.

The Same testimony is found in **Chirino op. c. p. 33.**

(2) **Loarca p. 174.** Avia principales en sus barrios a quien obedecian que castigavan sus delitos y les davan las leyes que avían de guardar.

(3) **Morga. op. c. p. 191.** La superioridad que estos principales tenían sobre los de su barangay era tanta que los tenían como a subditos de bien y mal tratar, disponiendo de sus personas, hijos y haziendas a su voluntad, sin resistencia, ni tener que dar quenta a nadie, y por muy pequeños enojos, y ligeras ocasiones los matavan y herían y los hazían esclavos; y acaecía por aver pasado por delante de los principales, estándose lavando en el río o por aver alcado los ojos a mirar con menos respeto, y por otras causas semejantes hazer los esclavos para siempre.

(4) **Loarca p. 174.** Avia principales a quien obedecían.

(5) **Morga p. 191.** A quienes obedecían y respetaban.

(6) **Col. ser 2. tom. 3. p. 34.** Vinieron el Viban y un hermano suyo con otros dos principales los quales respetavan a este con ser mozo de hasta veinte años.

(7) **Ibidem p. 50.** Delante de los quales venía uno que era el principal a quien todos respetavan.

(8) **Col. ser 2. tom. 3. p. 91 ff.**

this statement. Thus in the year 1565 Andres de Mirandola wrote to the king of Spain: "It is a people who ignores respect; and those who are pointed out as being the chiefs are neither considered nor respected as such." (1). And Juan Martinez says: "the people do not recognize a master" (2) and further on: "they obey no one but live as fishes, the greater destroying the lesser." (3).

In his relation Legaspi writes: "the natives know nor law, nor king, nor master; everyone acts as he pleases, his only concern being his own self and his slaves. The only thing which is of importance to them is to own a large number of slaves for in this case one can do just as he pleases' (4) he adds: "they will be subjected to no one". (5).

In a narrative of the expedition written by a companion of Legazpi the same declaration is found: "they are subjected to no one." (6).

But these contradictory testimonies can they be made to agree? We think yes for de Mirandola, Juan Martinez, Legazpi, and his companions wrote about the political and social conditions considered in their broad lines, and when they mention the "Señor," they mean the mighty rulers who govern a whole land or at least large district. A serious or earnest reading of the text quoted above will convince us of this fact.

Morga too admitted that there were no great rulers. (7). Now contrary to the other witnesses, Morga, and Loarca made a careful study of the existing conditions in the Islands and they saw that if there were no great Lords there were at least a number of petty chieftains who were respected. Moreover when the companion of Legaspi came in contact with a Tiban and a Tu-

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(1) **Col. ser 2. tom. 2. p. 366.** Porque nos hemos visto en ellos es gente que todos viven sin respeto alguno, porque las personas que señalaban ser señores, no eran temidos ni respetados y así se ha entendido por personas que han estado en estas partes antes.

(2) **Col. ser 2. tom. 3. p. 460.** La gente es muy libre y esenta como gente sin señor que no lo tienen.

(3) **Col. ser 2. tom. 3. p. 462.** Es buena tierra para ellas en todo excede a la nueva españa si dos cosas que ella tenía tuviese y es señor y rey absoluto como alla avia y la tierra toda una al contrario desta que son muchas e no obedescen a nadie sino cada uno es señor en su casa y son como los peces que el que mas puede come al otro.

(4) **Archivo del Bibliofilo Filipino.** Vol. V. Revista Hist. Biblio. p. 18. Los abitadores dellos son gente sin ley ni rey ni señor aunque ay poblaciones grandes en algunas partes no tienen concierto ni policía sino que cada uno haze lo que se le antoja sin tener quenta mas de consigo y con sus esclavos y el que mas esclavos tiene y es mas poderoso sale con todo lo que quiere.

(5) **Ibidem p. 19.** o reconocen a nadie señorío subzesion.

(6) **Col. ser 2. tom. 3 p. 159.** Ni tienen sujección a nadie.

(7) **Morga op. c. p. 191.** En todas estas islas no avia reyes ni señores que las dominasen al modo de otros reynos y provincias.

pas whom we have previously mentioned, he had necessarily to admit that they were respected.

In support of our statement we have a text of the narrator of the Legaspi expedition which says: "they (the Indios) do not know what it is to pay tribute as they have never seen this done before, for they are subjects to no one and each one is Lord. The largest villages do not count more than fifteen, twenty or thirty houses and there the Principal surrounded by his children, and the members of his family and by his slaves, stand independently without paying the least respect to the others." (1).

This text which says that they submitted to no one, declares at the same time that there existed Principales who were surrounded by a group of people. Now the inferiors paid respect to their Principal and obeyed him as Morga and Loarca testify.

Naturally this subjection and respect were not the same everywhere and this can be easily inferred when we consider on what the power of the Principales was based.

Juan de la Isla is very plain about this fact he says: "the more slaves one has the greater Principal he is" (2) and Morga completes this statement adding: "when one of these Principales was braver than the others in war and showed greater daring in any circumstances, he had a greater number of followers and ruled over other Principales" (3). Thus we may conclude from this that the wealthier and the braver a Principal was the greater was the number of men over whom he ruled. Yet, whenever the Principal was reduced to less favorable conditions, we do not wonder that the other Principales refused him submission. Thus we see "the Principales of Mactan refusing obedience to the Principal of Cebu, declaring that they were as good as he." (4).

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(1) **Col. ser 2. tom 3. p. 159.** No saben que cosa es dar tributo, porque nunca lo hicieron ni lo han visto hacer, ni tienen sujección a nadie sino que cada uno hace cabeza de su juego y ansi los mas de los pueblos son pequeños de a quince, y veinte o treinta casas y de menos y de mas; pero por la mayor parte cada principal sus hijos, deudos y esclavos estan por si, sin tener cuenta ni respecto a otro ninguno, antes unos a otros se hacen mal vecindad.

(2) **Col. ser 2. tom. 3. p. 232.** Cuanto uno mas esclavos tiene tanto es tenido por mas principal.

(3) **Morga op. c. p. 191.** Y quando alguno destos principales era mas alentado que otros en la guerra y otras ocasiones este tal, llegava así mayores parcialidades y gente, y por su cabeca se governavan los demas aunque fuesen principales.

(4) **De Navarrete.** Collección de los Viages. Tom. IV. p. 288. Ellos decían que obedecerían al Rey nuestro Señor, e le darían parias; pero que al rey de Zebu no le habían de obedecer, porque eran tan buenos como el.

The same fact is asserted by **Pigafetta op. c. p. 46.** Contestole el rey que se alegraba sinceramente de ser cristiano qu aprovecharía las ventajas que obtendría para someter a sus principales, que le negaban obediencia pretestando que eran tan hombres como él.

Concluding this paragraph of the relation between the superiors and the inferiors we can say that the Indios obeyed and respected their Principales in proportion as these Principales kept their authority by their riches and their courageous and warlike deeds.

Morga asserts also that this consideration and respect shown to the Principales was extended to his children and the members of his family, notwithstanding that they did not inherit his lordship over the others. They formed a kind of nobility who was exempted from the services which the others, the plebeians called Timaguas, were obliged to perform. This kind of nobility was also extended to the women. (1).

4. *The religious authority: Pagan Priests.*

What were the feelings of the Indios towards their so called priests and priestesses.

Chirino says that "they were held in high consideration and respected by all" (2). Yet he had already called the attention to the fact that this position was coveted by many because of the dignity it conferred and moreover it was very lucrative. (3). And this last remark will explain the meaning of Colin who at a first glance does not seem to agree with Chirino. He says: "these priest and priestesses were rich yet for all that they were neither honored nor respected for they were regarded as people who lived of the sweat of others and once that the sacrifice was offered no one took the least interest in them, unless they joined to their office of priesthood that of nobility or power." (4).

Thus we reach the conclusion, that the Indios respected their priest, whomever they were, during the time that the sacrifices were offered, just because they needed their help at that time. Yet when the priests did not belong to the class of the Principales, as soon as their services were no longer required, they were considered lazy bones and parasites: attributes which betray contempt and an absolute lack of respect.

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(1) **Morga op. c. p. 191.** De la misma manera eran tenidos y respetados los decendientes de tales principales y sus deudos aunque no tuviesen heredado el señorio siendo todos estos tenidos por nobles, y personas exemtas de los servicios de los demas Plebeyos a quien llaman Timaguas. La misma nobleza y principalia se conservava en las mujeres como en los varones.

(2) **Chirino op. c. p. 78.** Porque de mas de la reputación y honra conque todos le (el ministro) respetan.

(3) **Chirino op. c. p. 78.** Es esta herencia de estima para su ceguedad y codicia.

(4) **Colin p. 68.** Estos sacerdotes y sacerdotisas de ordinario eran riquillos—pero no por eso eran honrados, ni estimados porque les tenían por gente aragana, que vivia de sudor ageno; y passada la ocasion no se acordavan de ellos, sino se juntava con el oficio la nobleza o el poder.

5. *What was the relation between master and slave?*

We have first to observe that there were different kinds of slavery in the Philippine Islands. First there were the slaves called "aliping namamahay". Juan de Plasencia compares them to the Spanish "Pecheros" men who paid tribute. (1) Loarca calls this kind of slaves "tumaranpoc" (2). These slaves had their own house, they were the owners of their property which they could leave as an inheritance to their children. They could not be degraded to a lower social condition, nor could they, parents or children, be sold. (3).

What were the obligations of these Aliping Namamahay? First they gave to their master one half of the products of their cultivated lands. They rowed his boat whenever he sailed (4); they helped him in building his house and they performed without pay his household duties. (5). Of every four working days they spent one in the service of their master and in case they neglected this they were obliged to pay him at the end of the year ten measures of rice. (6).

The wives of these slaves had also their obligations towards their master. If they had children, they were obliged to spin cotton for the master one half of the month while the other half month could be spent in work for themselves. (7).

The master could not do with these slaves what he pleased for instance "they could neither be degraded nor sold" (8) Moreover they could never be forced to leave their own village,

(1) **Juan de Plasencia**—according to Morga p. 472. Los pecheros son los llamados aliping namamahay.

(2) **Loarca p. 142.** Otros ay que se llaman tumaranpoc.

(3) **Juan de Plasencia p. 472.** Estos viven en sus cassas propias, y son señores de su hazienda y de su oro, y lo heredan sus hijos, y gozan de su hazienda y tierras; y los hijos gozan de este estado, y no los podian hazer esclavos aguiguilir, ni a ellos ni a sus hijos benderlos.

(4) **Juan de Plasencia p. 472.** Y sirven a su amo, sea dato o no, con la mitad de su sementera, como al principio se concertaron, y yvan con el quando alguna bez yva fuera, remando.

(5) **Loarca p. 182.** Otros, que tienen sus casas pobladas, con su familia fuera de la casa de su Señor, y vienen a tiempo a ayudarles en sus sementeras y cosechas, y en las esquifasones quando se embarcan, y en la fabrica de sus casas quando las hazen, y a servir en sus casa, quando ay huespedes de cumplimiento, y tienen obligacion, cada y quando el señor los embia a llamar de venir a su casa, y servirle en este ministerio, sin paga ni estipendio alguna y estos se llaman Namamahayes.

(6) **Loarca p. 142.** Otros ay que se llaman tumaranpoc que tienen casas de por si y son obligados de acudir o servir a su amo de quatro días el uno y los tres para ellos, y si no sirven estos a sus amos, por ocupar se en sus sementeras, dan cada año a su amo diez-chicubites de arroz de anega, cada chicubite.

(7) **Loarca p. 144.** Las mujeres de los tumaranpoques si tienen los hijos sirven la mitad del mes en ylar y texer algodon que les dan sus amos, y la otra mitad para si.

(8) **Juan de Plasencia p. 472** cfr.

not even when their master went to live in another country. Yet in the same village they could be transferred from one barrio to another. (1) No material help was given them, but they received a kind of moral support for the master protected them as his own property. (2).

But the true slaves were called "Aliping saguiguilir" which means slaves of the threshhold. They served their master in his house and upon his lands. (3) Morga calls them: "slaves of the whole service and of complete servitude." (4).

Loarca calls this kind of slaves: "Aguey" or slaves of the lower degree. (5) The master had absolute right over these slaves, he could sell them if so pleased (6) and the accounts of the first conquistadores testify plainly to the fact that the masters were real slave dealers. (7) These slaves might also be killed and it was previously stated in what circumstances this was done. (8).

According to Loarca these slaves were forced to work for their master three out of every four days while one day was left for themselves (9) and the women were obliged to furnish the same amount of labor. (10).

According to Juan de Plasencia the master gave them a part of the products of the cultivated lands yet only as much as it pleased him to encourage them to work. Thus it was possible for them to lay up at least something for themselves. (11).

Loarca asserts that the master fed and clothed them. (12).

Now according to the same writer there was still another

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(1) **Juan de Plasencia p. 472.** A algun hijo de su amo que se yva a morrar a otro pueblo, no los podian sacar de su pueblo y llevarlos consigo sino en su natural, y quedavan alli, y les serbian y hazian sementeras.

(2) **Loarca op. c. p. 144**

(3) **Juan de Plasencia op. c. p. 472.** Los esclavos son los que llaman aliping saguiguilir; estos son los que sirven a su amo en su casa y sementeras.

(4) **Morga op. c. p. 192.** Estos esclavos eran en muchas maneras; unos son de todo servicio y esclavonia, como los que nosotros tenemos; y estos se llaman Saguiguilires que servian de las puertas a dentro y lo mismo los hijos que dellos procedian.

(5) **Loarca p. 142.** El primero y mas esclavo es el de aquel que se sirven en su casa ques el que llaman aguey.

(6) **Juan de Plasencia p. 472** a estos podian vender.

See also **Morga op. c. p. 197** and **"Conquista" p. 18.** Sobre estos que son sus esclavos, tienen mando o poder de vender o hazer dellos lo que quisieran.

(7) **Colleccion de documentso ineditos ser 2. tom 2. p. 291.** Ibidem p. 405; ibidem p. 308; tom 3. p. 238; ibidem p. 460.

(8) **Col. de doc. ineditos ser 2. tom 3. p. 114.**

(9) **Loarca p. 142.** Estos travajan tres dias para el amo y uno para el.

(10) **Loarca p. 144.** Las mugeres de los ayueyes sirven tambien en la casa de los principales como sus maridos.

(11) **Juan de Plasencia p. 472.** Dalos el amo algo de la sementera que hazen, lo que quiera, por que travagen bien, y assi grangean algo por su industria.

(12) **Loarca p. 144.** A los ayueyes solamente dan de comer y bestir sus amos, y los demas no les dan nada.

kind of slaves called "Tomatabanes" which were held in higher consideration than the former two classes. These did not perform any household duties for their master but they brought him a present whenever he held a feast and they furnished him with part of the beverage. They worked for their master five days a month or paid him five measures of rice at the end of the year. Their wives spun every month a skein of cotton which was furnished by the master. At the death of these slaves the master was heir with their own children. (1).

These slaves also did not receive material help from their master. (2).

Tracing back the inner feelings of these slaves towards their masters we find recorded in the documents that their submission and their servitude were not very great. Moreover Legaspi says that the slaves were not at all submissive that they furnished but a conditional service, that is: they served him just when it pleased them. And according to him, the sole means of coercion which the master possessed over his slaves was the threat or menace to sell them. (3) Let us mention by the way that Legaspi speaking here of the slaves, must have meant the lower class as the others could not be sold.

Another statement of Legaspi points to the fact that very little was done by the Indios to cultivate or sow their land giving for reason the native indolence of the Indios and the fact that the slaves paid little attention to the orders of their masters and that the services rendered by the slaves amounted to little more than nothing. (4).

6. *Relations existing between the higher and lower social classes.*

There was a middle class between the Principales and the slaves. Juan de la Isla asserts that there were three social clas-

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(1) **Loarca op. c. p. 142-144.** Ay otros que son esclavos que los tienen por mas honrrados que se llaman tomatabanes que no les sirven en sus casas, sino es quando aiya algun banquete o borrachera que vienen con algun pressentillo tambien ellos a beber pero estos quando se mueren entran los amos a la parte con los hijos de la hacienda que dexan y en vida son obligados a servir cinco dias cada mes y si no sirven dan cada año cinco chicubites de arroz.—Las mugeres de los tumatabanes no hacen mas cada mes de beneficiar una madexa de algodon para su amo dandolos el amo el algodon en capullo.

(2) **Loarca op. c. p. 144.** Los demas no les dan nada.

(3) **Archivo del Bibl. Filipino.** Revista Historia Bibl. p. 19

No rreconocen a nadie señorío, subzesion hasta los esclavos que tienen no son muy subjetos a sus amos y señores ni les sirven sino condicionalmente y quando ellos quisieren y sino la premia que les pueden hazer es venderlos.

(4) **Archivo del Bibl. Fipilino.** Revista Historia Bibl. p. 20

Tambien como en sus esclavos tienen tan poco dominio contentanse con solo lo que les es necesario de presente; porque no procuran de tener ni tinen tesoro ni se les da nada por atesorar y por ser tan grandes holgazanes y por lo poco que los esclavos le sirven.

nearly no lame, nor decrepit nor deaf nor mute, nor demoniacs, nor idiots among the Indios. (1)

8. *How did they act towards their enemies.* We must remember that the Indios lived surrounded by enemies.

Urdaneta remarked already "how village rose in arms against village and island against island." (2)

A survivor of the expedition of Villalobos related "how the Indios lived in a continual warfare." (3)

Legaspi says: "often it happens that of two neighbouring villages one half lives in peace while the other half is at war with each other." (4)

And Loarca tells that with the Indios "the enemies of their friends become their own enemies." (5). The same writer gives the causes which provoked a lawful war: a) unlawful murder; b) abduction of women; c) ill-treatment of an Indio while trading in a near village. (6).

Now certainly we should be greatly mistaken if we should believe, that weapons were never used in any other circumstance. We have but to refer to the mourning, when the Indios were on the look out for one or more strangers to kill as a sacrifice. (7). Moreover their covetousness and desire to possess slaves made them often have recourse to their weapons. (8). And we must still add to this that the Indios considered as enemies all those with whom they had not concluded the blood compact, (9) no

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(1) **Loarca p. 116.** Casi no se alla ningun hombre contrecho ni manco de naturaleza, ni mudo, ni sordo, ni ningun endemoniado, ni loco ansi viven sanos hasta muy viejos.

(2) **De Uncilla.** Urdaneta y la "Conquista de Filipinas" p. 353. Tienen guerra algunos de ellos unos pueblos con otros y tambien con estas islas comarcanas.

(3) **Col. ser 2. tom. 3. pu. 178.** Todos son muertos de ellos de enfermedades, y de ellos en guerras que unos Indios tenían con otros.

(4) **Archivo del Bibl. Filipino.** Tom. V. Revista. Hist. Bibl. p. 19. Muchas veces aconteze que en dos pueblos comarcanos la mitad de ellos estan de paz y la otra mitad estan de guerra y se saltean y prenden.

(5) **Loarca p. 150.** Tienen por costumbre de ser enemigos de los que lo son de sus amigos.

(6) **Loarca p. 140.** Tres guerras tienen estos naturales por justas la primera si un yndio va a un pueblo y le matan alla sin razon, la otra por quitarle las mugeres, la otra es porque si van a contratar debajo de amistad algunos pueblos y alla les hacen algunos agrabios o los maltratan y debaxo de amistad les hacen trayción.

(7) **Crf. Chirino op. c. p. 109.**

(8) **Col. ser 2. tom 2. p. 405.** Ansi se usa entre estos Indios, de una isla cautivarse y llevarse a vender a otras; vale uno quatro pesos y seis.

See also the testimony of **Legaspi: Archivo del Bibl. Filipino** Tom. V. Revista Hist. Bibl. p. 19.

(9) **Archivo del Bibliofilo Filipino.** Tom. V. Revista Hist. Bibl. p. 19. Tienen guerras entre si por muy livianas ocasiones y a las veces sin ninguna que a todos los con quien no an asentado paz o no se an sangrado con ellos tienen por enemigos.

further proofs will then be necessary to maintain the fact that the Indios lived so to speak in a state of continual warfare on land or on water. (1).

In general the Indios were very cruel towards their enemies. Their ordinary method of death was beheading. The Spaniards experienced this but too often.

The narrator of the Legaspi expedition relates how on a certain day the Indios attacked a Spaniard, killed him, with their lances, cut off his head, and then went to a certain place called Gavi, where they held a feast with the head. (2).

The Indios considered the heads, which they had cut off from their enemies, as trophies of victory and Chirino testifies that at the entrance of a Visayan village he saw trophies composed of a bamboo stick on which banderols were fastened having at their extremities a tuft of hair of their defeates enemies. (3).

When the enemy was not killed he was made a slave for life.

Sometimes military expeditions were organized in view to make slaves. Fray Martin Ignacio testifies to this and he relates how "a principal with forty or fifty of his men attached a small village where all the inhabitants were made prisoners so that they might serve the chief for the rest of their life, unless it pleased him to sell them. (4).

When the Indios went on an expedition of plunder the enemies were carried away with them (5) naturally again to be made a slave.

According to Loarca it seems that the Indios were less inhuman towards the chiefs of their enemies: "they treated him (the chief) with some regard and even agreed to accept a ran-

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(1) **Loarca p. 116.** Es gente briosa y martista andavan siempre en guerras por mar y tierra.

(2) **Col. ser 2. tom. 3. p. 211.** Vieron un Español que iva de este real paseándose solo por la marina acia donde ellos estavan al qual salieron y le dieron lanzadas y le mataron y le cortaron la cabeza, y se la llevaron al puerto de Gavi donde hicieron gran regocijo, y fiesta con la cabeza.

(3) **Chirino p. 39.** Yo vi en la entrada de algunos pueblos los trofeos de esta victoria, y algunos de los esclavos. Y los trofeos eran una caña de las grandes, que dijimos, hincada en tierra, larguísima, y en la punta de ella dos y tres y mas banderetas pendientes, a manera de gallardetes o flamulas y en ellas algunos cabellos de los enemigos muertos.

(4) **Archivo del Bibliofilo Filipino Tom. V. p. 33.** Usavan entre ellos hazer captivos y esclavos con grande facilidad en guerras ilícitas, y por causas muy leves lo qual remedio Dios con la yda de nuestros españoles. Yva un hombre con quarenta o cinquenta compañeros o criados, y dava de repente en una aldea de jente pobre y desapercebida para semejante asalto, y atavanlos a todos llevándolos por esclavos sin otra causa ni razón, y servianse dellos toda la vida, o vendianlos en otras Islas.

(5) **Loarca p. 150.** Quando van a robar si pueden traer vivo al enemigo no lo matavan.

som for his freedom" (1). In case no ransom could be paid the chief was kept a prisoner for life. (2).

9. *Conduct towards their friends.*

Who were their friends?

Legaspi answers: "All those with whom they had concluded the blood compact. (3).

Loarca gives a description of the manner in which peace was concluded among the individuals, the villages and the tribes: The persons by whom the compact was made wounded the arm slightly and few drops of blood were mixed in a cup of wine from which each one drank his share. The peace concluded in this manner could never be broken. (4).

Chirino speaking of this blood compact praises its solidity. He says: "After this compact is made each one considers the other his brother, and the word "sandago" used by the Indios to designate this compact, signifies blood relation or of the same blood." (5).

The Spaniards too looked upon this compact in the same way and Legaspi after he had concluded this compact with Zicatuna said to him: "Since I have concluded the blood compact with you, I have accepted you as my friend and henceforth I treat you as my brother; thus always will I give you with the greatest pleasure the help you migth be in need of." (6).

Therefore, among the Indios, the fact of concluding friend ship with someone was as much as including him among the members of one's own family.

10:*What respect did the men have for women?*

This topic will be discussed later on, yet this can be said now: "Youth in general, men and women did not have the least

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(1) **Loarca p. 150.** Si cautivavan a algún principal tratavan lo bien y si algun amigo por estar lejos su tierra le rrescatava volvía el cautivo doblado.

(2) **Loarca ibidem.** Porque siempre le tenían aprisionado.

(3) **Revista Hist. Bibl. p. 19.** A todos los con quien no an asentado paz o no se an sangrado con ellos tienen por enemigos.

(4) **Loarca p. 162.** Para hacer amistades entre los que estan venidos o sean particulares o de pueblos con pueblos sacan sangre de los bracos y los unos gustan la sangre de los otros en una bellota, o en un poco de vino y esta amistad no ay quebrantarla.

(5) **Chirino op. c, p. 13-14.** Los que en nombre de los demas hacian las paces y establecían los conciertos de perpetua amistad, se picaban y herían los brazos, legándose el indio a chupar la sangre del español; y el español la del indio. Asi quedaban ya como de una misma sangre y mas que hermanos; a que ellos llaman sandugo, que quiere decir consanguineo o de una misma sangre.

(6) **Col. ser 2. tom. 2. p. 298.** Pues se había sangrado con el, y lo había tomado por amigo y que asi le tenía como a propio hermano, y que si tobiese necesidad de su favor e ayuda se lo daría con toda voluntad.

self respect before each other, they troubled themselves very little about modesty and from their earliest youth they were given the greatest liberty and lived in the greatest dissoluteness. (1).

The Indios showed respect only to the women of the Principales, for one could be made a slave if he offended a woman of the higher class. (2) Morga testifies also to the fact that "for lack of respect towards the women of the Principales one might be wounded, killed or thrown into slavery." (3).

Let us now examine what kind of labour was performed by the women.

Pigafetta says that the women wove mats (4).

Juan Martinez describes the women as skillful seamstresses using golden needles for their work (5). Loarca speaking of the slaves says: "that the women served their master in performing the household duties and in weaving" (6).

According to Morga's description, considering the bodily labour, the condition of the women was not so bad. He says: "The women busy themselves with needlework and all kinds of sewing, they weave cloaks, spin cotton, take care of the house of their husbands and parents. They pound the rice and cook the food. They raise chickens and pigs while the men till the soil and take care of the fisheries (7).

Thus we may conclude from these different testimonies that the Indios did not look upon women as beasts of burden, but on the contrary we may believe Loarca when he says repeatedly that the Visayas for instance had a great liking for their women. (8).

3.o Up to this time we have treated the obligations which the Indios had towards the person of their neighbour. Let us now

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(1) **Morga p. 195.** Los solteros se llaman Bagontaos y las mozas por casar Dalagas. Unos y otros son gente de poca continentia y desde muy niños se juntan y mezelan con facilidad y poco recato, y sin que entre ellos sea cosa de sentimiento.

(2) **Cfr. Loarca op. c. p. 144.**

(3) **Cfr. Morga op. c. p. 191.**

(4) **Pigafetta op. c. p. 60.** Me senté a su lado mirando como tejia una estera de palma de las que sirven de cama.

(5) **Col. ser. 2. tom. 3. p. 1461.** Alguna son fantastigas e curiosas labranderas que cosen con agujas de oro son limpias texen al uso de alla mas a torno hilan.

(6) **Cfr. Loarca op c. p. 144.**

(7) **Morga op. c. p. 174.** Las mugeres tienen por ejercicio y occupacion labores de aguja de que son muy curiosas y todo genero de costura. Y tejen mantas, y hilan algodon, sirven las casas de sus maridos y padres. Pilan el arroz que se ha de comer, y aderezan lo demas. Crian gallinas y lechones y guardan las casas; entretanto que los hombres entienden en las labores del campo y en sus pesquerias navegaciones y grangerias.

(8) **Loarca op. c. p. 116.** Quieren mucho a sus mugeres.
Cfr. p. 118. Quieren los hombres tanto a sus mugeres.

ask the question: *Had they any obligation toward the honor of the Neighbour? Their good reputation?*

It need not be repeated that the Indios showed respect to the women of the principales, and that punishment followed any offense committed against them. (1). But there remains still to be remarked that "any one who had offended these women by words could be thrown into slavery" (2). Yet it was not only the women of the higher social classes who had right to be respected but every one had a claim to his good name or reputation. In fact "injurious words especially against the principales, were numbered among the crimes, now among the Indios there were many expressions which were considered grievous offenses or abuses and these words were addressed to men as well as to women. These offenses were regarded as being more injurious than any other offense against the person as for instance wounding the body." (3).

When two principales had offended each other the case was brought before a higher council composed of ancients, who after hearing the complains of both parties involved, and the testimonies of the witnesses, judged the case according to the traditional customs of the ancestors and, says Morga, there was no appeal from their judgment. (4).

When an inferior spoke direspectfully of his principal or offended him by words, he was guilty of death unless he could indemnify himself with gold. (5).

If two timaguas injured each other a sum of money was to be paid according to the gravity of the offense. This was decided by a judge. (6).

Thus we may conclude that the Indios respected each other's

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(1) **Cfr. Loarca op. c. p. 144** and **Morga op. c. p. 191.**

(2) **Loarca p. 144.** Las leyes que tienen para penar a uno hasta hacerle esclavo...por deshonrar de palabra alguna muger principal.

(3) **Morga p. 195.** Los delitos se castigavan a pedimiento de los agraviados... las injurias por palabra; particularmente hechas a los principales teniendo entre si muchas cosas y palabras por de suma injuria y escarnio, dichas a hombres y mugeres que se perdonavan peor, y con mas dificultad que las hechas en las personas, hiriendo o ofendiendo por obra.

(4) **Morga op. c. p. 191-192.** Quando unos naturales tenían pleytos o diferencias con otros sobre materias de hazienda e interes o sobre injurias y daños recebidos en las personas, se nombravan ancianos de la misma parcialidad que los oian, las partes presentes, y aviendo de aver provancas, llevavan alli testigos, y por lo que se allava, luego juzgavan la causa, segun lo que se avia usado, en semejantes occasiones por sus pasados y aquellos se guardava y executava, sin otra replica ni dilacion.

(5) **Loarca p. 178- 180.** Era tambien ley que el que se descomedia al principal conociendo le tratava mal de palabra, tenía pena de muerte, y si tenia posible para rescatar la vida, tenía de pena quince tes de oro.

(6) **Loarca p. 180.** Era ley que si venian dos timaguas y avia afrenta en alguno dellos tenía de dinero conforme a la calidad de afrenta y esto era al arbitrio del juez y si el afrenta era grande la pena asimismo.

reputation and the great punishments which were given for any shortcoming with regard to this seem to point out that the inhabitants of the Philippine Island were very sensitive of their honor or fame.

4.o *What were the obligations of the Indios towards the property of their neighbour?*

The property of the ground was to be respected, for instance "he who cultivated or sowed a piece of land could not be robbed of it." (1).

The other properties of the Indios were also to be respected for stealing was numbered among the great crimes and thus was severely punished. According to Morga theft was punished with slavery and sometimes with death. (2).

And Loarca speaking of the law against theft says that "this law affected everybody even the principales." (3).

5. *Obligations towards themselves.*

1. The Indios were always very thoughtful in trying to avert all *dangers* which might threaten them.

In the previous pages it was repeatedly mentioned how they offered sacrifices to the spirits to turn away sickness or to escape danger or accident (we may here recall examples given of the caiman, the rocks and the cliffs of the sea) or to prevent all ill luck to their possessions (as with the anitos of the field).

The Indio is extremely timorous and is continually concerned about his personal safety and welfare. He sees everywhere omens which signify to him the will of the spirits and which therefore, he would under no circumstance dare to neglect.

Thus for instance Chirino says: "When they (the Indios) come across a snake or a lizard, when they hear someone sneeze, they do not proceed on their journey but return from whence they came as these signs are considered omens of evil. (4).

Loarca too speaks of sneezing "They (the Indios) will never proceed to war or on any important business if they should happen to sneeze while starting" (5). Morga mentions also, a few of the other omens he says: "they believe in prophecies and su-

(1) **Juan de Plasencia p. 471.** Quien comienza a arrozar una tierra, la siembra y no se la pueden quitar.

(2) **Morga op. c. p. 195.** Los delitos se castigavan a pedimiento de los agraviados en particular los hurtos con mas severidad haziendo esclavos a los ladrones y a vezes matandolos.

(3) **Loarca p. 146.** Y esta ley pasava entre todos los mismos principales.

(4) **Chirino op. c. p. 76.** Si vian culebra o lagartija, o si oían estornudar en todos estos casos volvían atras y de ningun manera por entonces habían de ir adelante por que era mal aguero.

(5) **Loarca p. 164.** Si alguno va a alguna guerra o hacer alguna cosa de ymportancia si al salir de casa estornuda tiénelo por mal aguero y buelve se,

perstitions which were suggested to them by the devil" (1). Colin once more expands the text which he found in Chirino's work for he says: that it is impossible to sum up all the omens, and his text gives us a picture of the life of fear and awe which the Indios must have led. "When the owl was perched upon the roof of a house at night it was a sign that death was near and therefore scare-crows were placed upon new buildings to drive away the bird; the Indios would never inhabit a new house in which a snake had been seen. Among the evil omens were counted the sneezing of a human being, the squeaking of a rat or the sound made by a lizard. The first fish caught in a net might never be used for it was a common belief that if such were done they would never more catch fish. In the house of the fisherman they might not speak of the nets, nor in the house of the hunter of the new dogs. The woman who expected the birth of a child might not cut her hair for fear that the child would be bald. Those who journeyed on land might not speak of things belonging to the sea and those who sailed on the sea might not take with them animals from land. When they went out to sea, they first swung their boat over the water and allowed it to continue its oscillations; if the oscillations were more frequent on the right side they set sail, if on the left, the journey was postponed. (2).

To protect themselves against calamities and to avert danger the Indios had recourse to another means, this means was in use not only among the Indios of the Philippine Islands but among all the Malay people and consisted in the drawing of lots.

Urdaneta, who during the expedition of Villalobos had lived on the Moluccas, says that all the Indios of the Archipelago of

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(1) **Morga op. c. p. 197.** Creyendo en agueros y supersticiones, que el demonio les persuadía.

(2) **Colin op. c. tom. I. p. 68.** Los agueros y abusiones seria cosa larga, y sin fruto contarlos todos. Si la lechuza se ponía sobre su techo era caso de muerte, y asi en las casas nuevas ponían algun espantajo contra el paxaro, para no perder la casa, que de ninguna manera la habitaran, si tal sucediera. Y lo mismo, si siendo recien hecha, aparecía en ella alguna culebra. Y si la encontravan en algun camino, no avian de pasar adelante aunque fuesse negocio muy forcoso. Lo mismo si oian estornudar persona, chillar raton, ahullar perro, o cantar lagartija. Los pescadores no se a prouechavan del primer lance de la red, o corral nuevo, por entender que no acudiría mas pescado, si hacian lo contrario. Tampoco se avia hablar en casa del pescador de las redes nuevas, ni en la del cazador de los perros recien comprados, hasta que huviessen hecho presa, o surtido lance, porque de no hazerlo assi dezian era quitar la virtud a las redes, y habilidad a los perros. La muger preñada no se auia de cortar el cabello so pena de nacer la criatura sin él. Los que caminavan por tierra, no auian de nombrar cosa del mar; y los que andavan por ella, no auian de llevar consigo animal de tierra, ni aun nombrarle. Al principio de la navegación remecían la barca, o navio, y dexándole dar sus baybenes, si los de la mano derecha eran mas, se prometían buen viage; y malo, si menos; assi no proseguían con el.

Inés copied the text of Colin adding two more omens. Cfr. Inés op. c. p. 54-55.

the Moluccas drew lots and attached the greatest importance to the result. (1).

Legaspi, (2) Chirino, (3) Morga, (4) are one in their account concerning the fact that the Indios had continual recourse to the drawing of lots.

Now if the Indios were greatly concerned about their security and welfare we must still point out that this concern limited itself, to the present.

2. They seemed to have been without the least apprehension for *their future here on earth*. They lived day in, day out, without worrying about the morrow, never thinking to lay something by for future days which might not be as fortunate as the present. Juan Martinez writes "When they were well off, they spent everything in a few days in a degrading carousal" (5) and Legaspi says: "As soon as an Indio has a measure of rice he does not wish for more but stops working, living on what he has until it is consumed." (6).

Even then when the Indios could gather riches without exertion they did not care to do so, as for example in the places where gold could easily be acquired. This was because "the idea of saving, of making provisions for the future, never occurred to them." (7).

Only at the approach of death they had a thought for their future on the other side of the grave. And with the hope of being soon numbered among the Anitos they assumed an earnest and solemn attitude as if a ray of the divinity had come down over them and they selected a chosen place where they were to be buried and honored. (8).

The relatives began then also to thing of this future and we have previously proved their material conception of this future, and how to fulfill their obligations, they interred with the dead all their valuable possessions and even slaves who might be of any use to the dead in the next world.

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(1) **De Uncilla op. c. Apendice relación de Urdaneta p. 403.**
Echando los Indios suertes parece que les salieron malas e nos volvimos a Tidore. Todos los Indios de estas partes acostumbraban a echar suertes y dar mucho crédito a ellas.

(2) **Archivo del Bibl. Filip. Tom. V. p. 442.**

(3) **Chirino op. c. p. 76.**

(4) **Morga op. c. p. 197.**

(5) **Col. ser. 2. tom. 3. p. 468.** Mas la gente yuconsiderada no tuvo atención a lo porvenir sino a gastarlo todo en dos días bestialmente.

(6) **Revista Hist. Biblio. p. 20.** Y en teniendo qualquier yndio un cesto de arroz hasta lo acabar no ay buscar mas ni trabajan.

(7) **Revista Hist. Biblio. p. 20.** Porque no procuran de tener ni tienen tesoro ni se les da nada por atesorar.

(8) **Chirino op. c. p. 75.** Y los mismos viejos morían con este desvanecimiento y embuste representando en su misma enfermedad y muerte, en todos sus acciones, una gravedad y término a su parecer divino. En consequencia de esto eligían por sepulcro algun lugar señalado.

6º Obligations towards Nature.

In the Chapter "Belief" treating of the relations of men with nature we mentioned also the obligations which the Indio had towards nature. It will therefore suffice to refer to these pages.

We have treated of the obligations of men towards: 1) the higher world; 2) his neighbour; 3) himself and 4) nature. But the moral law does not only command, it does not only impose positive obligations, but it *forbids*, it commands to avoid faults and sins. Therefore we shall presently treat of

B. THE TRANSGRESSIONS OR OFFENSES

1º *Generalities.*

What was considered a fault or offense? Let us first ask the question: What is evil? Moral evil? The definition given by Cardinal Mercier will answer this "Le mal moral est ce que est en opposition avec la fin de notre nature raisonable." (1). Moral evil is that which is in opposition to the end of our reasonable nature.

Now this study will prove that the notion of moral evil or wrong was little if at all known by the Indios and many things which are morally wrong were not considered as such by them, and some actions which are morally bad were regarded as honorable. For them evil was that which occasioned temporal loss or damage.

What were the most common offenses?

What faults were regarded as the most serious?

2º *Against Religion.*

Sorcery and witchcraft. According to the testimony of Loarca "there were sorcerers and witches to be found upon all the Islands." (2).

Chirino is of the same idea when he writes that: "there were priests and priestesses who had concluded a compact with the devil." (2).

As long as these sorcerers did not trouble the people they were neither punished nor prosecuted but, concludes Morga, "It is difficult to realize all the evil or harm which they do." (3).

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(1) Traité elémentaire de Philosophie.—par **Mercier** et Collegues. Louvain 1926. Vol. II. p. 254.

(2) **Loarca op. c. p. 162.** Ay en esta tierra Brujos y echiceros.

(3) **Chirino op. c. p. 78.** Pero a la verdad hay otros que tienen muy particular pacto con el demonio.

(4) **Morga op. c. p. 196.** Herbolarios y hechizeros, a avido comunmente entre estos naturales estos no se castigavan ni prohibían entre ellos, entretanto que no causavan algun daño particular, que pocas vezes se podía averiguar ni tratar dello.

Yet Juan de Plasencia says: "When a sorcerer had been found guilty of any crime, he was punished with death and his children and those who had participated in the act became the slaves of the chief who saw that retribution was paid for the injury inflicted by the sorcery." (1).

From a text of Loarca we may conclude the kind of work which was done by these sorcerers. Yet we must first mention that Morga places the sorcerers and Quacksalvers upon the same footing, (2) and that Loarca after having named the sorcerers and the witches wrote the following words: "the Indios have also good medical men who know the virtue or power of herbs" (3). These sorcerers were perhaps what is called in German "Heilkünstler" or quack-doctors who in a mysterious manner or by the help of the "black art" pretended to cure men of their diseases or sickness. Yet the harm which they certainly occasioned frequently caused the aggravation of the illness or even the death of their patients.

Sacrilege. We know that the Indios ascribed a sort of religious reverence to old trees. According to Chirino the mere idea of cutting down such a tree for any reason constituted a sacrilege. (4).

From this we may conclude that the destruction or damage done to any object or thing related in some way or other to the Anitos was regarded as a sacrilege. This was an offense greatly shunned by the Indios for fear of the revenge of the Anitos.

3º *Offenses against Society and Authority.*

Since there was, so to speak, no social life among the Indios, since each barrio possessed its own chief (5) and there existed no confederation among them (6) there can hardly be question of offense against society.

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(1) **Juan de Plasencia op. c. p. 473.** Tenían leyes por las quales condenaban a muerte;... y asi mismo a los hechizeros y a otros de esta suerte; a ninguna condenavan por esclavo, sino a los que merecían pena de muerte; como a los hechizeros, que los matavan, y a sus hijos y coadjutores en el officio, hazian esclavos del principal dando él algo a la parte agraviada.

(2) **Morga op. c. p. 196.**

(3) **Loarca p. 162.** Ay en esta tierra brujos y echiceros aunque ay tambien buenos médicos que curan con yerbas simples.

(4) **Chirino op. c. p. 76.** Era sacrilegio pensar cortarlo por ningun caso.

(5) **Col. ser. 2. tom. 2. p. 262.** Pareze que se goviernan por barrios como behetrias; cada barrio tiene su principal; no podemos entender que entre ellos hobise algun principal o gran Señor.

This testimony of the Narrator of the Legaspi expedition is confirmed by **Juan de la Isla** fr. Col. ser. 2. tom. 3. p. 232; by **Juan Martinez**; ibidem p. 459; by **Pigafetta** op. c. p. 57; by **Morga** op. c. p. 191; by the **Writer of the "Conquista" p. 17.**

(6) **Archivo del Bibl. Filipino Vol. V. p. 441.** Y no ser gente que se juntaron para hazer gran poder.

The offenses against Authority came to be offenses against the Principales in other words these offenses consisted in neglect of the obligation which the subjects owed to their chief and these obligations have already been mentioned.

4º *Offenses against Persons.*

1. *Against Life.*

Murder was considered a great crime, whether it had been committed upon a principal or upon a timagua. If a principal was killed the punishment inflicted was always death. (1).

Not the least clue is to be found in the sources with regard to the punishment inflicted in case of mutilation, wounding or poisoning. Yet poison and antidotes were known by the Indios.

According to Juan de la Isla: "they tipped the points of their arrows in the juice of a plant, the poison of which was so strong that the person who had been wounded by it saw his flesh putrify in a day if no application was made of other herbs which served as an antidote. These herbs were found only in Luzon." (2).

In the study made by Romualdez "Ligero Bosqueto de la legislación prehistórica filipina; Manila 1914" there are certain passages referring to the inflicting of wounds, but this information was borrowed from an unedited manuscript which we dare not unconditionally trust without having first submitted it to a severe criticism. (3).

Infanticide.

Montero y Vidal gives a quotation of Rada who tells that infanticide was practiced on a rather large scale among the Indios (4).

In another source we find a text referring clearly to infanticide.

Loarca speaking of the inhabitants of Pangasinan states simply: "just like the Pintados these inhabitants kill their children for fear that they may in later life suffer from po-

(1) **Loarca p. 184.** Era ley al que matava a otro que muriese.

(2) **Col. ser. 2. tom. 3. p. 236.** Flechan con yervas, y en algunas partes tan mala que dentro de un día natural y aunque la herida sea pequeña es sin remedio y se cae a pedazos la carne podrida si antes no se rremedia con la otra yerva, esta yerva ay en Luzon.

(3) **Romualdez** in his work refers continually to an unedited work of Padre Pavon "Las antiguas Leyendas de la Isla de Negros" in which a complete code of penal laws, made up by a certain Calantiao king of Panay and written in 1433, would have been inserted. Yet over the value of this code we dare not pronounce ourselves and therefore will not use it.

(4) **Montero y Vidal:** "Historia General de Filipinas" Tom. I. p. 62.

verty." (1). In his accounts we find a text concerning infanticide among the Visayas: "Among the Visayas it is considered a calamity to have many children for if the possessions are to be divided among many, they will suffer poverty, therefore it is considered much better to have but one child who will inherit all the wealth." (2).

The faults against temperance are still to be treated here, for intemperance in eating and drinking is harmful to the health, or at least it deprives one of the use of reason, and lowers human beings to the level of the animals. Yet the Indios did not consider drunkenness a moral evil. Drunkenness was one of their favorite vices.

The narrator of the Legaspi expedition says: "Men and women are given to drunkenness. (3). Everyone old and young, likes to drink until he or she has lost the use of his reason. (4) Legaspi emphasizes this statement adding that "the Indios considered drunkenness a title of honor somewhat related to nobility; and here we find the women numbered among the men." (5).

Yet Juan de la Isla adds extenuating circumstances saying that their wines were not very intoxicating. (6).

Loarca in turn testifies that although they were fond of drinking palm-wine and rice-wine, they were seldom infuriated in their drunkenness and that their intoxication disappeared easily after a short slumber or a humorous conversation. (7).

Morga testifies also how the feast of the Indios were nothing else but drinking bouts. "Day and night each one in turn sings and drinks until intoxicated". "But, says he, drunkenness is not considered by them a shame, a dishonor or a vice." (8).

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(1) **Loarca op. c. p. 104.** Matan los hijos si tienen muchos porque no vivan en povreca.

(2) **Loarca p. 118.** Afrentanse de tener muchos hijos porque dizen que aviéndose de repartir la hacienda entre todos que quedaron todos pobres que mas vale que aya uno y ese rico.

(3) **Col. ser 2. tom. 3. p. 112-113.** E así que verdaderamente ellos son aficionados al vino y al beber, y ellas al vino y a la carne.

(4) **Conquista p. 29.** Como digo, comen y beben hasta perder el juicio desde el menor hasta el mayor.

(5) **Gaspar St. Augustin Vol. 1. p. 194 col. c.** La embriaguez era tenida entre ellos por gala, y anexa a la nobleza, como tambien eso entre las mugeres.

(6) **Col. ser. 2. tom. 3. p. 460.** Son gente sana dispuesta desvergonzada sobervia y libre... son gente viciosa en emborracharse con estos vinos que tanto continuan aunque no perjudiciales.

(7) **Loarca p. 116.** Es gente muy dada al vino que lo hacen de arroz y de palmas y es bueno rraras veces estan furiosos estando borrachos porque con dormirse les pasa la borrachera o en gracias.

(8) **Morga op. c. p. 175.** Los naturales destas islas en sus juntas casamientos y fiestas todo es beber deste vino, días y noches, sin cesar por su rueda cantando unos y otros bebiendo, de que muy de ordinario vienen a em borracharse, sin que ellos esta vicio sea deshonrar ni infamia.

2. *Against Liberty.*

The Indios committed many crimes against personal liberty: kidnapping and the slave trade were common upon the Islands.

Estevan Rodriguez says: "that it was a custom among the Indios for the inhabitants of one Island to assail those of another and to carry them off to be sold into captivity." (1).

Juan Martinez writes that "they made it a study to capture each other and thus through war and other unlawful means they succeeded in possessing numerous slaves. (2).

Juan P. Maldonado is of the same idea when he writes: "they declare war on each other, capture one another, make slaves of the captured prisoners and sell them from one province to another." (3).

The narrator of the Legaspi expidition testifies "whenever they gain any interest from the transaction, they simply sell each other." (4).

Legaspi still enforces the statement and even says that "they sold their own children for a trifling reason (5) and on the same page he declares that "whenever an Indio is forced by hunger to ask help from his relatives, these will take him up in their house, give him to eat, but henceforth he will be their slave. (6).

On most occasions when a debtor could not pay his debts he lost his liberty. Thus when they (the Indios) borrowed a measure of rice and could not return or pay for it on the day it was due, the debt was doubled and at last grew to be so great that the debtor was finally obliged to give himself up as a slave to cancel the debt. (7).

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(1) **Col. ser. 2. tom. 2. p. 405.** Que ansi se usa entre estos Indios de una Isla cautivarse y llevarse a vender a otras; vale uno quatro pesos, y seis, y ansi nos los davan a nosotros.

(2) **Col. ser 2. tom. 3. p. 460.** Nunca andan sino a cautivarse unos a otros y a hurtarse tienen muchos esclavos los rricos avidos por guerra y otros otras vías ylicitas valen atal de oro que es onza y media.

(3) **Revista Hist. Bibliographico. p. 34.** Tienen guerra unos con otros, cautivanse en ella y se hacen esclavos y se venden de unos provincias a otras.

(4) **Doc. ined. serie 2. tom. 3. p. 113.** Como haya interés venden unos a otros.

(5) **Revista Hist. Biblio. p. 19.** Algunas veces venden a sus hijos propios con liviana ocasión o necesidad.

(6) **Revista Hist. Biblio p. 18-19.** No tienen ley pariente con pariente ni aun padres con hijos ni hermanos con hermanos ni hazen los unos por los otros sino es por via de ynterés antes si alguno en tiempo de necesidad rroge en su casa a pariente o hermano y si le sustenta y da de comer por algunos dias lo tiene desde ay adelante por esclavo y se sirve del.

(7) **Bibl. Filipino Tom. 5.** Intenerario de Martin Ignacio p. 33.

Usavan entre ellos hazer captivos y esclavos con grande facilidad en guerras illicitas y por causas muy leves... y si acaso uno prestava a otro un

Loarca describes still another case "When anyone has killed a prisoner of war and can not pay the fine attached to this act he becomes a slave." (1).

Chirino wrote a whole chapter on slavery in the Philippines (2) and he mentions several causes of slavery. For instance: "When a debt with its growing interest could not be paid, the debtor became a slave, and all his descendants shared his unhappy fate. (3).

Sometimes men were made slaves out of cruelty or because of revenge taken for deeds of little importance such as breaking the silence at the death of a Principal. (4).

Through wars and ambushes, the prisoners whom they did not wish to kill were made slaves. (5).

Thus, concludes Chirino: One does then not wonder that it was easy (for the Indios) to increase the number of their slaves. (6).

But what was the fate of these slaves?

Some were kept in the service of the Chief, as a large number of slaves was a sign of wealth. (7). Moreover "the greater number of slaves one possessed, the more powerful he was considered," (8) and for the Indios "their slaves were their greatest possessions" (9).

Yet other slaves were sold to the inhabitants of other islands as has just been stated "Others still were bought by the Moros

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(1) **Loarca p. 150.** Quando van a robar si pueden traer vivo al enemigo no lo matavan, y si alguno matava el cautivo despues de rendido pagavalo de su bolsa, y si no tenía conque pagarlo quedavase por esclavo.

(2) **Chirino op. c. Cap. XLVI.** De las usaras y esclavonias de los Filipinos. p. 148.

See also **Morga op. c. p. 193.**

(3) **Chirino op. c. p. 148.** Cargando la deuda sobre la persona, quedaba el pobre hecho esclavo, y de allí adelante lo eran sus descendientes.

(4) **Chirino ibidem.** Tambien hacían esclavos con tiranía y crueldad en venganza y castigo de cosas de poca importancia pero que ellos hacían dellas casos de agravio como era no guardar el silencio que dijimos de los muertos.

(5) **Chirino ibidem p. 149.** Por via de guerra, con emboscadas y asaltos hacian tambien esclavos a todos aquellos que no quierian matar.

(6) **Chirino op. c. p. 149.** Era facilísimo el multiplicar los esclavos.

(7) **Col. ser. 2. tom. 3. p. 232.** Quanto uno mas esclavos tiene tanto es tenido por mas principal.

(8) **Col. ser. 2. tom. 3. p. 460.** Tienen muchos esclavos los rricos unos avidos por guerra y otros otras vias ylicitas.

See also **Chirino p. 149.** Es entre ellos la mayor riqueza.

(9) **Morga op. c. p. 193.** Estos esclavos son la mayor haziendu y caudal que los naturales destas islas tienen.

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cesto de arroz o dos (que valian hasta un real) con condición que dentro de diez días se lo volviese si el deudor no pagava el propio día, el siguiente havia de pagar doblado, y despues yva doblando la deuda de día en día, hasta que venía a ser tan grande que para pagarla le era forzada darse por esclavo.

of Borneo" this is testified by the narrator of the Legaspi expedition. (1).

Thus we know "that in the port of Batuan there arrived two ships from the Moros of Luzon (those living around Manila Bay) who purchased gold, wax and slaves. (2).

In regard to the Principales, the attempt against personal liberty was not pushed so far; they were never made slaves. When possible the Indios kept the Chieftains of their enemies prisoner, but as has previously been stated these could be ransomed. (3).

3: *Against Morals.*

All the sources which we have searched are one in declaring that the Indios had no scruple on this point.

Juan Martinez speaking of them says: "they were all, men and women, very lascivious, and that, to satisfy their passions they committed crimes which he prefered not to put in print." (4).

Loarca, speaking of the Visayas, agrees completely with Martinez, and says that the women were very lascivious and that they even encouraged their daughters to commit impurity. Yet, he adds, these men are not so voluptuous as the Moros. (5).

Juan de Medina adds to this, "that far from being ashamed they are proud of this act." (6).

The writer of the Conquista speaking of the women of Luzon says: "They are very ugly but also very immoral." (7).

Legaspi and his men could speak from experience: when they had established their camp in Cebu, several women, under the pretext of selling trifles, came to offer themselves to the Spaniards, and when Legaspi protested aginst this to Tupas, the Principal, the latter answered that they were but unmarried slaves to whom this was permitted. (8). Yet Legaspi asserted

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(1) **Col. ser 2. tom 3. p. 238.** En aquella tierra se contratan esclavos y se venden unos a otros en mucha quantidad y los llevan a tierra de Moros, son los mas dellos hijos y nietos de esclavos de tiempo immemorial.

(2) **Col. ser 2. tom. 2. p. 291.** Dio cuenta este Moro al General como estaban en Botuan dos juncos de Luzon, resgatando oro, cera y esclavos.

(3) **Loarca op. c. p. 150.** Si cautivavan a algun principal tratavanle bien.

(4) **Col. ser 2. tom 3. p. 460-461.** Son muy luxuriosos y no menos ellas y que en ellos se rrecrean y deleyten mucho... y porque la materia es algo desonesta no me aclarare.

(5) **Loarca p. 116-118.** Las mugeres son hermosas aunque deshonestas son ellas grandisimas alcaguetas.

(6) **Medina.** "Historia de los sucessos de la Orden de N. G. P. San Agustin" Par. XII. p. 38-39. Ni menos les quita las mujeres, a cuyo vicio son demasiados, y ellas no menos y tanto que lo tenían por flor y gala.

(7) **Conquista p. 27.** Las mujeres son feisimas y muy desonestisimas.

(8) **Col. doc. en. ser. 2. tom. 3. p. 112.** Respondieron que las que venían a vender y contratar eran esclavas y no mugeres casadas y que no se le diese dello ni reciviese pena porque aquello era su costumbre.

that the wives and the daughters of the Principales were among them.

The Spaniards soon found out that it was a custom among the Indios to furnish any new-comer or stranger with a wife and that the natives, for a small gain, were willing to turn their own wives over to others. (1).

Notwithstanding all the efforts of Legaspi to prevent these visits he was unable to put an end to this act on account of the strong passions of the women. (2). Later when the Spaniards had definitely established themselves upon the Islands, one among them had the same experience on the island of Marinduque. A certain Alferez had gone on a reconnoitering expedition and was obliged to pass the night among the Indios who offered him two women as a present. (3).

Father Chirino who usually speaks so favorably of the Indios is nevertheless obliged to admit that purity was something unknown to the pagans. According to him a false doctrine was spread all over the Islands. This doctrine held that women married or unmarried could not be happy in the other world if they had had no lover in this world, as he alone would be able to lead them across a narrow bridge into the realm of happiness. Virginity was unknown to them and consequently they did not appreciate it. They considered it a misfortune and a humiliation. (4).

Morga too offers a sad picture: "Little boys and girls are far from being modest and from their earliest youth they live without the least reserve and neither their parents nor their

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(1) **Col. ser. 2. tom. 3. p. 112.** Muchas de las casadas y hijas de los principales venían al campo a vueltas de las otras y ansi andavan por el campo visitando con tanta soltura y libertad como si todos fueran sus propios hermanos, y ansi se ha visto y entendido despues que lo tienen de costumbre y lo hacen con todos los estrangeros que vienen de fuera, que lo primero que hacen es poveerles de mugeres y se las venden por qualquier interes por pequeño que sea y esto hacen generalmente con todos los forasteros.

(2) **Ibidem p. 112.** Y con todo no dexo de haver harta rotura, por aparejo grande que en ellas havia.

(3) **Chirino op. c. p. 65.** Yendo un Alferez con una escuadra de soldados por curiosidad a verlo interior de la isla (Marinduque) cogiéndole alla la noche hubo de hospedarse en un lugar de aquellos, donde uno de los regalos, que pensaron hacerle a el y a sus compañeros, fué traerle dos mujeres.

(4) **Chirino p. 65.** Uno de los frutos mayores, que allá estimamos, es el regocimiento y honestidad de las mujeres, por ser una cosa poco usada, ni preciada en su gentilidad. Doctrina era sembrada por el demonio en algunas y muchas de estas islas, y aun creo que en todas, que no se podía salvar fuese casada, o por casar la mujer, que no tuviese algun aficionado. Porque decían que este acudía en la otra vida a darles la mano en cierto paso de un río muy peligroso, que no tiene puente sino un madero muy angosto, el cual se ha de pasar para ir al descanso que llaman calualhatian. Y asi no conocían, virginidad ni hacían caso della, antes le tenían por desdicha y bajeza.

relatives object to this conduct, on the contrary they sometimes take interest in it." (1).

"Concubinage, occured without causing the least scandal except when the act was committed between persons of different social positions." (2).

"When the girl is still too young to be married it frequently happens that the boy in the meanwhile lives with her sister or mother this be known to the whole family." (3)

Chirino says: "Fidelity to the husband is not a point of honor among the women although the men are sensible to it and may for this reason put them away." (4).

Morga too declares the women of the Visayas to be the worst in regard to the morality and he speaks of Divilish inventions, which, thanks to Christianity, are disappearing. (5).

Still we must do justice to the Indios in one respect they never committed sins against nature.

The writer of the Conquista says: "With regard to morality they (the Indios) have fallen very low, yet they do not commit sins against nature which is not to say little of such a barbarous people." (6).

And Morga adds: As long as the Indios lived free from contact with the Spaniards and the Chinese they never committed such atrocities. But after the arrival of the strangers; men and women were found guilty of this crime." (7).

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(1) **Morga op. c. p. 195-196.** Los solteros, se llaman Bagontaos, y las mozas por casar Dalagas. Unos y otros, son gente de poca continencia, y desde muy niños, se juntan y mezclan, con facilidad y poco recato, y sin que entre ellos sea cosa de sentimiento, ni lo hagan los padres, hermanos ni deudos; mayormente, si ay materia de interés de por medio, que poco basta para con los unos y otros.

(2) **Morga op. c. 195.** Los amancebamientos, estupros e incestos no se hazia caso dellos, como no fuese de Timagua, en persona de principales.

(3) **Morga op. c. p. 195.** Y era muy ordinario, el que se casava, aver estado amancebado (con la hermana de la que se casava) mucho tiempo, y aun antes de juntarse con su mujer, tiene mucho tiempo acesso con su suegra; mayormente, si la casada era de poca edad, hasta que la tuviese bastante, esto vista de toda la parentela.

(4) **Chirino op. c. p. 65.** Ni las mujeres casadas tenían por honra guardar ley a sus maridos. Aunque los maridos sentían mucho el adulterio, y lo tenían por justisima causa para repudiarles.

(5) **Morga op. c. p. 196.** Los naturales, de las islas de Pintados, especialmente las mugeres son muy viciosas, y sensuales y la malicia entre ellos, a inventado maneras torpes.

(6) **Conquista p. 30.** Entre estos hasta oy no se ha sentido ningun pecado contra natura, que no es poco entre gente tan barbara, empero son tan viciosos y luxuriosos, que hasta allí puede llegar todo género de naciones con mugeres, que no es pequeño mal y pecado.

(7) **Morga op. c. p. 196.** Todo el tiempo que estos naturales vivieron en su gentilidad, no se les sintio, tocasen en el pecado nefando, contra natura, despues de entrados los Españoles en la tierra, con su comunicación y mas con la de los Sangleyes, que an venido de la China, que son muy dados a este vicio, se a pegado algo, asi varones como hembras, y no a faltado en que entender en esta materia.

Now it is difficult to say in how far these accusations against the Spaniards were true. But what we know to be true is that when Morga wrote this he would certainly not have scrupled at that time to make, out of vengeance, these accusations on his countrymen. But what remains without doubt is that the highest authorities residing in the Philippines accused the Chinese and the Japanese for having introduced this crime among the natives. Thus in 1598 the Archbishop of Manila wrote: "The Chinese have introduced here unutterable sins which they commit with the natives. And as the natives are always greedy to possess, and the Chinese in order to satisfy their passions are willing to give; this cancer is rapidly spreading." (1).

Morga himself while still in the Philippines, wrote to the king of Spain that "it was necessary to keep the Chinese out of the Islands because they taught the natives to commit great vices and sins." (2).

5º *Offenses against Honor.*

In the paragraph "Obligations towards the honor of their neighbour" we showed how insulting words were looked upon as a great evil by the Indios and how severely they were punished.

As for "Fidelity to the spoken word" this does not seem to have been greatly developed among them; at least all the early Spaniards in the Philippines in general testify to this. And as the Indios did not leave any writings or documents concerning their moral life it is difficult to say if they were to be trusted among themselves.

The narrator of the Legaspi Expedition complains: "In one's presence they will never say "NO", but as soon as one's back is turned they recall their word. They do not know what truth is and they completely ignore what it is to act according to the truth." And he concludes "it will then also be very hard to deal with them in a friendly manner." (3).

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(1) **Morga op. c. p. 475.** El arzobispo de Manila con fecha 24 de Junio de 1598 escribía al rey refiriéndose a los chinos. "Esta entre ellos tan yntroducido el pecado nefando como en Sodoma, y le usan con los naturales, asi hombres como mujeres que como son miserables y amigos del interés, y los chinos para sus deleytes manirrotos, cunde mucho esta desventura.

(2) **Morga op. c. p. 250-251.** Es necesario impedir apretadamente que los chinos no anden por entre estas yslas... pegando grandes vicios y pecados a los naturales.

Morga wrote this on June 8, 1598.

See also a letter of the Audiencia of Manila in **Morga op. c. p. 475** and a letter of the Archbishop Miguel de Benavides of 1603 in Morga op. c. p. 476; and another writing of de Benavides of 1605.

(3) **Col. ser. 2. tom. 2. doc. 27 p. 348.** Estando delante ninguna cosa niegan ni dicen de no a nada y vueltas las espaldas veinte pasos, no cumplen cosa de lo que prometen, ni saben que cosa es verdad ni la tratan, y por esto se entiende que con estos será trabajoso poder contratar por via de amistad sino conocen subgeción ni temor.

Further on he expresses again the same idea when he writes: "they neither know what is truth nor how to keep their word". (1).

Legaspi speaks in the same way when he says: "this people cannot keep the given word" (2). And these declarations were but the result of their experiences. How often did they (the Indios) not promise the Spaniards to bring them food and provisions, yet they promised and gave not. "They gave words" said the narrator of the expedition, "but did not furnish deeds" (3). and several times Legaspi waited in vain for the articles which the Indios had promised him on the preceding day. (4).

In more serious circumstances the Spaniards had proofs of this faithlessness. Thus on a certain day when a nobleman, Francisco Gomez, desired to conclude the blood compact with the Indios, he was struck in the chest by a spear hurled at him and later died of the wound. (5).

6° *Offenses against Property.*

Although theft has been previously mentioned as being a great evil deserving the most severe punishments, one more testimony, this of Legaspi should be added.

Thus speaks the discoverer: "Theft deserved a special punishment namely that the thief became the slave of the one from whom he had stolen." (6).

And yet notwithstanding this punishment the Indios persevered in this offense.

They were a covetous people living by asking, receiving and stealing "they thought it was much better to receive than to give." (7). One might say that they lived by plunder. Legaspi says: "They are robbers by nature and are always stealing each

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(1) **Col. ser 2. tom. 3. p. 113.** Son... de ninguna verguenza ni verdad que no la tratan ni la guardan.

(2) **Gaspar de San Augustin Vol. I. p. 194 col. b.** Es gente que no guarda palabra.

(3) **Col. ser. 2. tom. 2. p. 269.** Prometieron de traerlo, mas no lo traxeron. Ellos quisieron cumplir con solas palabras sin ninguna obra.

(4) **Ibid. p. 267.** El general viendo que los Indios no venían, ni traían cosa de las que prometieron el día antes.

(5) **Col. ser. 2. tom. 2. p. 255.** Queriéndose sangrar con el principal, salió del monte un Indio y se llegó donde estaba el Francisco Gomez y por entre los Indios que estaban con el dió una lanza por los pechos que casi ni tubo lugar de volver al batel.

(6) **Gaspar de St. Aug. Vol. I. p. 194 col. b.** Solamente el hurto tenía pena señalada, que era quedar el agressor por esclavo.

(7) **Col. ser. 2. tom. 2. p. 254.** Acudia siempre gente de nuevo a pedir porque son en extremo grado amigos de tomar, mas dar no lo daran, sino fuese por mas interés de lo que vale.

See also tom. 3. p. 112.

other. They do not even scruple to take advantage of a neighbour's or a relative' state of helplessness to attack him.' (1).

And they acted thus not only towards strangers but also towards their neighbours. They took from each other all that they could lay hands on and avowed to the Conquistadores that "while they had fled to the mountains on the Spaniards' account they had been robbed by their own people." (2).

Juan Martinez enforcing the previous statement says: "the people have become enslaved to stealing and they are continually planning how to capture or rob each other." (3).

If such were the dispositions of the Indios, one does not then wonder at the testimonies asserting that they were not very honest in their negotiations nor in their treaties or compacts.

In the account which Legaspi sent to Mexico, we read the following statement: "they cannot make a contract nor loan without usury. When a debt cannot be paid on the appointed day it is doubled and sometimes redoubled until the debtor becomes the slave of his creditor." (4).

The narrator of the Legaspi expidition, gives the reason for their unfair dealings: "Everyone is solely concerned with his own interest; and even the members of the family are obliged to pay back double the amount loaned." (5). This cheating and deceiving was not even considered a crime on the contrary "he who succeeded best in cheating his fellowmen in his business was considered clever and witty." (6).

Morga also asserts that their commercial dealings could not at all be justified: "Their contracts and transactions are not carried on according to the law of justice, as everyone is on the

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(1) **Revista Hist. Biblio. p. 19.** De su natural ynclinación son corsarios y salteadores y se rroban unos a otros aunque sean vezinos y parientes y en hallando occasion o que los vean yr decaida en topándolos en desamparo se rroban y prenden.

See also **Gasp. de St. Aug. Vol. I. p. 194 col. b.**

(2) **Col. ser. 2. tom. 3. p. 159.** Antes unos o otros se hacen mala vecindad, y se roban y toman todo lo que pueden que es gente, que ofreciéndoseles occasion hacen a toda ropa, aunque sea de sus padres propios, y ansi lo dixeron y dieron a entender en este viage al maestro de Campo diciéndole que mas mal havian recivido y recivían de sus propios vecinos que no de los Españoles aunque les hiciesen guerra, porque como se metian la tierra adentro huyendo de los Españoles, dexavan sus haciendas enterradas, que sus mismos vecinos se las sacavan y rovaban unos a otros.

(3) **Col. ser. 2. tom. 3. p. 460.** Son gente dada a latrocinios que nunca andan sino a cautivarse unos a otros y a hurtarse.

(4) **Gas. de San Augustin Vol. I. p. 199 col. b.** Ni sabe hazer conveniencia, ni prestamo, que no sea con grandes usuras, que se van doblando por plazos, y viene a pasar a vezes en hacerse esclavos unos a otros.

(5) **Col. ser. 2. tom. 3. p. 113.** Que ninguno dellos tiene intento mas de a su propio interés, y si un deudo o hermano, u otro ha de prestar algo es con que se lo vuelba doblado y no de otra manera.

(6) **Gasp. de San Aug. Vol. I. p. 194 col. b.** Y en sus contratos, el que mas engañaba, esse quedaba mas ayroso, y ufano.

watch to serve his own interests at the expense of the other party. Nearly everywhere it has become a custom to loan at an exhorbitant interest. The debt is easily doubled and increased till, as the time due the repayment is delayed, at last goods and chattels of the debtor are confiscated and he and his children are thrown into slavery." (1).

After reading these testimonies the following declaration of Pigafetta sounds rather strange "The inhabitants of this island are honest in their manner of living." (2). But he seems to draw this conclusion from the fact that they had "measures and weights" as if it would be impossible to cheat with measures and weights especially when the measures had no bottom. (3).

We rather believe Chirino, who whenever he can pleads in favor of the Indios, and who nevertheless was forced to admit that "the Indios were insatiably covetous, this being one of the three vices, continues the writer, which according to St. John, tyrannizes the world; moreover they possessed this vice in such a degree that even natural love was put under foot and in time of necessity they would refuse help to their relatives if they were not first assured of gaining something by it." (4). And Chirino writes much about usury which usually accompanies their loans; usury which might cause a man together with his family to be thrown into slavery. (5).

We need not to say that Colin and Santa Ines speaking of this usury and extortion copied Chirino word for word. (6).

When this chapter on Morals and ethics among the nations is studied, it is sometimes of great importance to find out the specific faults and transgressions which are committed at the different periods of the lifetime, or the special offenses committed by the different social classes and certain professions of the different races.

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(1) **Morga op. c. 195.** Sus contratos, y negociaciones destas naturales, comunmente eran ilícitos, teniendo atención cada uno, a como mejor haría su negocio.

El emprestito con ganancia era muy ordinario y practicado, corriendo muchos intereses exclusivos, doblando y acrecentando la deuda, todo el tiempo que se dílatava la paga, hasta tomar al deudor lo que tenía de caudal, y la persona y sus hijos (quando mas na tenía) por esclavos.

(2) **Pigafetta op. c. p. 44.** La gente de esta isla (Cebu) vive con justicia y tienen pesos y medidas.

(3) **Pigafetta op. c. p. 45.** Tienen medidas de capacidad, pero sin fondo.

(4) **Chirino op. c. p. 148.** Entre los otros vicios, que comunmente tenían estas naciones, procedidos de la fuente y abismo dellos, que es la idolatria, uno era la codicia insaciable, contada por el Evangelista San Juan entre los tres que tiranizan el mundo.

Esta les hacia, que olvidados de la natural piedad, que nos debemos los unos a los otros nunca se socorriessen en caso de necesidad, sin seguridad de ganancia.

(5) **Chirino op. c. XLVI. p. 148-149.**

(6) See **Colin op. c. Vol. I. p. 75** and **Santa Inés op. c. p. 59.**

It is sometimes striking to see how certain faults are found to be more common in some districts and among specific branches of a same people. Among certain nations there are also misdeeds and transgressions which are found among particular category of types.

The sources which we have at hand give us, so to speak, little information concerning such specific faults with regard to special categories of inhabitants. Well may Morga speak of a certain category of evildoers who exercised the shameful trade of dishonoring virgins (1) but it remains to be noticed that in the eyes of the Indios such persons were not at all considered malefactors since the Indios regarded virginity a shame. And now, if we still exempt the sorcerers of whom we have spoken in the previous pages, we must frankly admit that all the offenses found among the Indios were common to all without distinction of social classes, age or sex.

For instance in matter of morality it has been proved how all, married and unmarried, old and young, man and woman were equally free. Still the women of the Visayas ranked first in voluptuousness, but the man among the Moros were also considered worse than the others. (2). Another instance of a general fault was their intemperance in eating and drinking.

The writer of the Conquista says: "they eat and drink in a very unreasonable manner and the principales do not differ in this from the slaves"—"they eat and drink until they have lost the use of their reason and this happens among the highest classes (principales) as well as among the lowest." (3).

Stealing was so general that Legaspi speaks of a nation of robbers (4) and he mentions the punishments inflicted for theft on the persons of the higher classes as well as on those of the lower classes. (5).

The cruelty shown in their dealings with their enemies and against strangers seems to have been a general characteristic of the Visayan Indios. Juan de la Isla without excepting any

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(1) **Morga op. c. p. 196.** Avia tambien hombres que tenían por oficio estuprar y quitar la virginidad a las donzellas, y se las llevavan, para que lo hiziesen por estorvo e impedimento, quando se casavan, que fuesen virgines.

(2) **Loarca op. c. p. 118.** Los varones no son tan alcaguetes como los Moros.

(3) **Conquista p. 27.** Comen y beven muy desonestisimamente; no haze diferencia en el comer y bever el principal del esclavo ny el esclavo de su amo. **Page 29.** Como digo, comen y beven hasta perder el juicio desde el menor hasta el mayor.

(4) **Gaspar de San Aug. Vol. I. p. 194 col. b.** Su exercicio ordinario era el de piratas, los de unos Pueblos contra otros, cautivándose con emboscadas o sus rescates.

(5) **Gaspar de San Aug. Ibidem.** Pero esto era entre personas de igual calidad, porque si era de inferior el acusado el mas poderoso se le tomaba por esclavo sin mas prueba, ni recurso.

race says that "they were very cruel among themselves and when one enemy was being killed, those of the opposing party came to inflict on him added wounds although he might be at the point of death." (1). Andres de Mirandola writing to the Spanish King and speaking of the inhabitants of Cebu does not make any exception when he says: "this Island is largely populated but the inhabitants are all very warlike and vicious." (2).

Loarca speaking of the inhabitants of the Island of Luzon makes a distinction: "Some of them are very cruel", and among others speaking of Bulinao he writes: "they are a warlike people taking their greatest delight in head hunting. These heads hung up under their huts, and he who has the largest number of heads inspires the greatest awe. (3).

Yet speaking of the Ilocanos he says that "their manner of living resembles that of the Visayas but that they are more peace-loving and opposed to war." (4).

C. C. THE SANCTION.

1º *The Offender.*

The first question is: In transgression is it only the author or the doer who is held responsible or do others share in his responsibilities?

This has been partly answered while speaking of the loan. To lend without giving back is certainly considered a great evil since the penalty imposed for this act was very great. Moreover it has been stated that not only the debtor but even his children were thrown into slavery. (5).

Chirino speaking of usury testifies that when the debt could not be repaid at the date agreed upon it was transferred to the person of the debtor who was taken into slavery and that his descendants shared his sad lot. (6).

According to the same writer it often happened also that the borrower became the slave of the lender until he had repaid the capital and the interest. Yet in such cases the son might

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(1) **Col. ser. 2. tom. 3. p. 233.** Son crueles entre si y pocas veces se atreven a matar unos a otros si no es a trayción o ventaja y el que matan todos los de la parte contraria, le llegan a herir aunque este muera.

(2) **Col. ser. 2. tom. 2. p. 370.** Toda esta isla es muy poblada y de mucha gente y todo ella belicosa y muy viciosa.

(3) **Loarca op. c. p. 102.** Es gente belicosa que se deleyte y contenta en toner guerra unos con otros y cortar las cabezas y colgar las de baxo de sus casas el que mas cabezas tiene en su casa ese es mas tenido y temido.

(4) **Loarca op. c. p. 110.** Toda esta gente de los Ylocos tienese casi su manera de vivir como los pintados pero comen carne cruda de animales y es gente quieta, y pacifica y enemiga de guerra.

(5) See **Morga op. c. p. 195.**

(6) **Chirino op. c. p. 148.** Y cargando la deuda sobre la persona, quedaba el pobre hecho esclavo; y de alli adelante lo eran sus descendientes todos.

sometimes take the place of his father but then the son and his own children became slaves for ever. (1).

Among the Moros of Luzon it was a rule, that those who were unable to return a loan became slaves with those children who were born during slavery. (2).

Among the same Moros (of the Island of Luzon) the children were held responsible for any offense against justice committed by their father. Thus Loarca mentions the case of a person who after concluding a commercial contract with another person loses the money through gambling or intercourse with women. In such a case the guilty person and his children would be obliged to refund the amount lost and if he is unable to do so, he with one half of his children became slaves.

But if the children could repay the debt in the future they might recover their liberty. (3).

Among the same Moros it was also the custom, that when any person entered the house of a chief by night against the will of the owner, he was examined to ascertain whether any other chief had sent him. If he confessed that he had been thus sent, both were punished: the doer of the deed became a slave and the instigator was condemned to death unless he were ransomed." (4).

Juan de Plasencia giving some information concerning the loan says: "at his time all loans were transacted with usury" therefore the same conditions must have prevailed at the arrival of the Spaniards. He writes "At last they became slaves, and if the debt was not yet paid at the death of the parents it is passed over to the children." (5).

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(1) **Chirino op. c. p. 148.** Otro modo tenían de usura y de esclavonia, y era que por lo principal de la deuda quedase desde luego hecho esclavo el deudor, o hijo suyo, hasta que la pagase con los usuras y aumentos, que eran entre ellos usados; de que resultaba quedar esclavos todos los descendientes de aquel que, o era deudor o prenda de la deuda.

(2) **Loarca op. c. p. 182.** Era ley que si el que llevava el dinero quebrava, y no tuía de que pagar quedava por esclavo del y los hijos que tubiere después que los de antes son libres.

(3) **Loarca op. c. p. 182.** Si el que lleva el dinero se pierde por culpa suya jugándolo o gastandolo con mugeres, esta obligado a pagar al compañero, la cantidad que le dió y quedan obligados el y sus hijos a la paga y si la cantidad es tanta que no alcanzan conque pagar dentro del tiempo que se conciertan, queda por esclavo del otra y la mitad de sus hijos que si tiene dos hijos el uno queda por esclavo y el otro libre, y si tiene quatro quedan los dos esclavos y los dos libres, y ansi siendo en mas cantidad y si los hijos alcanzavan despues conque pagar la deuda del padre quedavan libres.

(4) **Loarca op. c. p. 184.** Quando algun entrava en casa de algun principal de noche contra la voluntad de su dueño tenía pena de muerte y era costumbre quando se cojia alguno destos dalle primero tormento por saber si lo avia enbiado algun otro principal y si confesava aver sido mandado tenía pena de esclavo y el que lo enbio tenía pena de muerte de la qual podía librar se pagando cantidad de otro por el delito.

(5) **Juan de Placencia quoted by Morga op. c. p. 474.** Y assi bienen a ser esclavos y pagan la deuda, muertos los padres, en los hijos.

Speaking of theft, Loarca says very clearly that "when the theft committed represented a great amount, not only the thief but also his nearest relatives were held responsible for it. When the theft was of little importance only the thief was punished. (1).

Among the Moros also it was not only the doer but even his children and his household who were punished for a great theft. (2). When a son could prove that at the time of the theft he was absent from home or in the house of a relative, he escaped punishment. Only those who, at the time of the theft were in the house of the thief were declared guilty, because they were supposed to have been aware of the deed committed. (3).

Among the Moros of Luzon, when there was question of defamation and calumny only one half of the children shared in the punishment, and if one could not pay the fine for injurious words he was taken into slavery, but this slavery could not be attached to the children who were born before the father became a slave. (4).

In the previous pages the punishment inflicted upon sorcerers have been mentioned and now we must add with Juan de Plasencia that not only the sorcerers but even their children and their assistants were punished. (5).

According to Loarca, when a murder or an act of adultery had been committed among the Indios the whole family of the murderer was held responsible for the deed. (6). On this subject Loarca gives some very interesting details concerning the Moros of Luzon. "When a principal of a village was murdered, the whole village wherein the murder was committed was held responsible for the act. Those who were judged guilty were executed without

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(1) **Loarca op. c. p. 144.** Ladrones. Si el ladrón hace algun hurto grande penan a el y a toda su parentela, digo los que mas cercanos parientes. Si el hurto es pequeño penan al que lo hace y no a sus parientes.

(2) **Loarca op. c. p. 178.** Y si el hurto lleggava a un cati de oro era la pena de muerte o de hacerlo esclavo, a el y a sus hijos y los estubiesen dentro de su casa.

(3) **Loarca op. c. 178.** El hijo que probava estar fuera de casa y posar en casa por si suya o de algun pariente como viviese por si no se entendía la pena sino aquellos que se allavan en casa, del delinquente por la sospecha que se tenía de saver del hurto.

(4) **Loarca op. c. p. 180.** Y no teniendo de que pagarla pasando de cinco taes quedava por esclavo del ynjuriado y si el delinquente pedía de medio al principal o a otro amigos le prestase el su dinero quedava por esclavo del que le prestava el dinero y esta esclavonia se entendia, con solo el delinquente, y no con sus hijos ni parientes salvo con los hijos que ubiese despues de esclavo.

(5) **Juan de Plasencia according to Morga op. c. p. 473.** A los hechizeros que los matavan y a sus hijos y coadjutores en el officio hazian esclavos del principal.

(6) **Loarca op. c. p. 146.** Y si es por muerte o por adulterio a toda su parentela penan, y si no tienen conque pagar los hacen esclavos.

mercy, while the accomplices and their children were taken into slavery. (1).

When an act of adultery had been committed by the Moros and the guilty one was able to escape, his punishment was transferred to the members of his family, for there existed enmity between the offended person and the family of the offender so long as justice was not done. (2).

From the texts we may conclude that on many occasions not only the offender was held responsible for the offense but even his family, his household, and sometimes his fellow-villagers. And it is also clear that the punishments were not only inflicted on the chief offender but also on his accomplices and that the punishment was transferred to the members of the family whether these were guilty or not.

Yet it was not only the punishment which was transmitted to the family of the guilty person but the obligation of imposing the punishment also passed on to the members of the offended family. Thus we read in Chirino that: "the mourning worn at the death of a murdered person could not be laid aside until the children, brothers and relatives of the murdered person had taken a bloody revenge by the murder of a large number of persons, guilty or innocent." (3).

2º *The Punishment.*

Notwithstanding a most careful perusal of the sources, not the least clue is to be found which might give a hint of the fact that an evil-doer imposed upon himself a penalty for the offense committed.

1. The Punishments were given *by the offended person* who took the law into his own hands, or *by the members of the family of the offended* or *by a council of judges.*

a) *The offended person who took the law into his own hands.*

Loarca says "The Pampangas simply kill the wife when she has been faithless" (1). The same writer testifies of the Moros

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(1) **Loarca op. c. p. 184.** Si el muerto era principal todo el pueblo donde se provaba que lo mataron avian de ser esclavos matando primero los mas culpados y si eran personas particulares, de tres o quatro o mas moriau los mas culpados sin remedio de misericordia y los demás y sus hijos esclavos.

(2) **Loarca op. c. p. 186.** Y si acaso se escapava huyendo tenía de dinero y hasta que la pagavan tenía pendencia entre las parentelas donde sucedía, lo proprio era entre los timaguas.

(3) **Chirino op. c. p. 109.** Si el muerto lo había sido con violencia en guerra o en paz con traición o de otro modo, no se quitaban los lutos ni se alzaba el entredicho hasta que los hijos, hermanos y deudos mataban otros muchos no solo de los enemigos y homicidas sino de qualesquiera otros extraños.

(4) **Loarca op. c. p. 104.** Es gente muy celosa de sus mugeres y ansi si les cometen adulterio las matan.

that "whenever a man was caught in the very act of adultery, he was killed." (1).

b) *The Members of the family exercising justice.* The fact has just been mentioned that the family was bound to avenge the murder of one of its members. (2).

c) According to Juan de Plasencia it was the dato; *the Principal of the Barangay who had the right to excercise justice.* Yet when one of the parties involved claimed that the judgment had not been fair, they might call from a neighbouring village an arbiter, he might or might not be a dato; this arbiter brought with him a jury of impartial men, who then pronounced the judgment according to the ancient customs. (3).

Morga also speaks of this council of judges as follows "whenever a quarrel occurred over property, or any other matter of interest, or because of scorn or injustice committed against their persons, the Elders were called together in council to listen to the complaints of both parties involved, and to pronounce judgment upon them after the manner their forefathers would have done in similar circumstances. The sentence given was to be accepted and there was no appeal from the verdict. (4).

2. *Which were then the penalties given?*

It seems that in the Philippine Islands in certain circumstances torture was applied. Thus for instance we know that in Luzon when an intruder into another's home had been arrested, he was tortured to find out who had been his instigator. (5).

Among the different penalties *Capital punishment* ought to be mentioned first.

Pigafetta knew that Capital punishment existed and he himself saw three evil-doers, thieves, hanged on a tree. (6).

Morga also testifies to the fact that thieves sometimes suf-

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(1) **Loarca op. c. p. 184.** Y era desta suerte que siendo cojido en ynfragante le podía matar el marido.

(2) **See Chirino op. c. p. 108.**

(3) **Juan de Plasencia**, according to Morga op. c. p. 473. El averiguar y juzgar sus competencias el dato lo hazia entre los de su barangay, y si alguna de las partes se sentía agraviada, de conformidad de todos nombravan un juez arbitro, de otro Barangay o pueblo fuesse dato o no, que para esto avia algunos conocidos por hombres desapassionados y que decían que juzgavan la verdad segun sus costumbres.

(4) Morga op. c. p. 191-192. (cfr. Cha. II. B. III. Nota 4) Quando unos principales etc...

(5) **Loarca op. c. p. 184.** Dalle primero tormento por saber si lo avia enbiado algun otro principal.

(6) **Pigafetta op. c. p. 61.** Vi que en un arbol estaban ahorcados tres hombres; pregunté quienes eran aquellos infelices y el rey me dijo que eran malhechores y ladrones.

red capital punishment. (1). And among the Moros of Luzon the death penalty was applied for great thefts. (2).

As has been previously stated, the sorcerers were also condemned to death. (3).

According to Juan de Plasencia this same punishment was inflicted on the men of the lower social classes who dared to dishonor the wife or the daughters of the Principles. (4).

A murder was expiated by another murder, as shown by Chirino in his writings on "revenge." (5).

According to Loarca the inhabitants of Zambales were rather cruel in executing their criminals "they pierced their skull and took out their brains" (6). "These inhabitants, according to the same writer, lived after the fashion of the Moros, and in his "Relation" he states that these Moros had a law according to which: He who committed a murder must die." (7).

As for adultery we know already that the adulterer was sometimes killed by the deceived husband and Loarca further states that "the wife of a Principal who commited adultery was guilty of death" (8) and still in another place "he who commits adultery of death" (1) and still in another place "he who commits adultery with the wife or the concubine of a principal deserves death." (9). Thus out of these statements it seems that we might draw the conclusion that the capital punishment was often applied, and yet this was not the case, for those who were condemned to death were more often thrown into slavery.

For instance, among the Moros of Luzon we learn that a sentence of death inflicted on a murderer could be changed to slavery if the accused begged for mercy. (10).

With the same Moros a robber was not always killed but more frequently taken into slavery (11) and those who had de-

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(1) **Morga op. c. p. 196.** A vezes matándoles.

(2) **Loarca op. c. p. 178.** Si el urto llegava a un cati de oro era la pena de muerte.

(3) **Juan de Plasencia according to Morga p. 473.**

(4) **Juan de Plasencia ibidem.**

(5) **Chirino op. c. p. 108.**

(6) **Loarca op. c. p. 102.** A los que matan hacenles un aguejero en las coronillas y sorber les por allí los sesos.

(7) **Loarca op. c. p. 184.** Era ley al que matava a otro que muriese.

(8) **Loarca op. c. p. 176.** La muger adultera siendo principal tenía pena de muerte cojiéndola el marido en ynfragante y el adultero tambien y los podía matar.

(9) **Loarca op. c. p. 184.** El que cometía adulterio siendo entre principales tenía pena de muerte y la misma pena tenía el que era cojido con alguna manceba de algun principal.

(10) **Loarca op. c. p. 184.** Era ley al que matava a otro que muriese y si pedía misericordia quedava por esclavo.

(11) **Loarca op. c. p. 178.** De allí para arriva, era de muerte y si se le perdonava era como esta dicho arriva haciéndole esclavo a el, y a su muger y hijos.

served death by being disrespectful towards their principal could save their life by asking for mercy, and receiving the sentence of slavery. (1). Moreover it was easy to redeem one's self from any offense. Legaspi testifies to the fact: "A murderer, an adulterer and a thief can easily redeem himself by paying a ransom" (2). Thus for instance in the case of adultery, Morga says "that when an adulterer paid the fine imposed by the Elders, the injury suffered was not only forgiven but even forgotten for the honor of the husband had been avenged. He would then return to live with his wife and the fact would never be mentioned again." (3).

Among the Moros of Luzon the punishment for adultery could also be averted by means of money. If the adulterer was not caught in the very act and he had been able to escape, a fine was to be paid, and as long as this was not settled there existed enmity between the offended and the family of the adulterer. (4).

But here is a contradiction in the sources. Juan de Plasencia says that "no one was ever condemned to slavery unless he had previously been condemned to death" and he mentions only the sorcerers (5) and Loarca speaking of the Indios says: "their laws consisted in this: that for murder, for adultery, for robbery and for injury done to the women of the principales they were condemned to slavery" (6).

Now this contradiction exists only at a first glance as Juan de Plasencia proceeding says: "for the other offenses fines were imposed but as the Indios did not know how to save, they became

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(1) **Loarca p. 180.** Y el delinquente pedía misericordia conque seria esclavo se le otorgava la vida y así quedava por esclavo del ynjuriado.

(2) **Gaspar de San Augustin Vol. I. p. 194 col. b.** Porque en lo de los demas delitos, como eran muertes, adulterios, o estupros los parientes los procuraban vengar, o ya matando al agressor, o componiéndolos con algun interes considerable.

(3) **Morga op. c. p. 194.** Los adulteros, no eran punibles corporalmente, pagando el adultero al agraviado, lo que se juzgava por los ancianos, y lo que por ellos so convenían, se remitía la injuria; y quedava el marido desagraviado y con su honra, y hazia vida con su muger, sin que se hablase mas en aquello.

(4) **Loarca op. c. p. 186.** Era desta suerte que siendo cojido en ynfragante le podía matar el marido, y si acaso se escapava huyendo tenía pena de dinero, y hasta que la pagavan tenía pendencia entre las parentelas donde sucedía, lo propio era entre los timaguas.

(5) **Juan de Plasencia according to Morga p. 473.** A ninguno condenavan por esclavo, sino a los que merecían pena de muerte, como a los hechizeros.

(6) **Loarca p. 144.** Las leyes que tienen para penar a uno hasta hacerle esclavo por muertes por adulterios por hurtos por deshonrar de palabra alguna muger principal, o por quitarle la manta en público y dexarla desnuda o ser causa que por huir o defenderse le caya que esto tienen por mucho afrenta.

slaves." (1). Therefore slavery was the immediate result of the impossibility of paying the fine and thus Loarca is justified in writing that the penalty for murder, adultery, robbery and disrespect was slavery.

But now comes the question: DID THE INDIOS FEAR A PUNISHMENT FROM THE UPPERWORLD?

No mention is made of the fact that the Indios feared a punishment on account of the offenses committed against their neighbours. And yet they certainly feared the revenge of the Anitos in case they would neglect to bring them now and then offerings or to offer sacrifices or in case they would dishonor their dwelling places. The worship paid to the Anitos was totally inspired through fear and yet a servile fear; and, as previously stated, their sole aim was: to foster a friendly disposition in the Anitos on their behalf and to avert their evil intentions of harming men.

Thus this worship on the part of the Indios was pure selfishness and the Anitos in turn took interest in men only in as much as they offered them sacrifices, therefore it was also pure egotism on their part. Therefore these beings: gods and anitos, did not trouble themselves in the least about the actions of men towards their fellow-creatures and consequently the Indios neither expected reward nor punishment for their deed towards their neighbours.

3º *At least did the Indios not expect a Sanction for their acts in the next world?*

Chirino says that: "they believed in a reward and in a punishment" (2) and we know that Santa Ines expanded this idea (3). Yet they are the only sources mentioning this fact. Loarca simply says "that some who had died by certain means went to heaven" (4) but nowhere is it mentioned that the good, the virtuous have a special right to heaven. Everyone, good as well as bad, was carried by their gods to hell where their actions were not examined by a righteous judge but where the only examination consisted in finding out who was poor and who was rich. The poor were obliged to remain in hell because no sacrifices nor offerings could be made for them to these gods of the underworld. (5).

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(1) **Juan de Plasencia according to Morga p. 473.** Todos los demas delitos sentenciavan en oro, desta manera; que la mitad de la sementera y todo lo que grangease, fuese del amo y el amo le diera de comer y de bestir; y assi se servían dellos y de sus hijos. Como no accaudalavan para pagar la condenación, quedavan esclavos.

(2) **Chirino op. c. p. 75.** Tocan en gloria, en pena.

(3) **See Ines page 50.**

(4) **Loarca op. c. p. 128.** Dicen que los que mueren a puñaladas o los come algun caiman o a flechazo que es muerte muy honrrada y que la alma dellos se suben por el arco.

(5) **Loarca op. c. p. 130.**

No wonder then that while living on earth the Indios cared but for one thing: to acquire wealth. Whether their acts had been good or bad, mattered very little in the next life as this was not at all taken into consideration. (1).

Now if this view of life, as described by Loarca, was in truth the life conception of the Indios then the question if the Indios expected a sanction of their deeds in the next world must be answered in the negative.

4º To RESUME: *Among the Indios the punishment of offenses consisted only in the revenge which the offended person or the offended party took on the offender.*

(1) Loarca op. c. p. 130.

CHAPTER III. WORSHIP

A. PLACES.

Did the Indios have definite places and fixed times for their religious worship?

The answer to this question ought to be negative, if we literally accept the testimony of Loarca: "The natives have neither a definite place nor a fixed time to offer sacrifices and prayers." (1).

But if the facts are more carefully considered we find that even Loarca himself asserts that the religious worship was by preference performed in definite places.

For example: The sacrifices offered by the Visayas for the redemption of their dead, took place in sight of Mount Mayas. (2). Loarca also testifies that the sacrifices for the drowned ancestors were offered on the sea. (3).

All the sources testify unanimously that there were no temples, and this can be easily understood from what Chirino writes "there were no public sacrifices, no sacrifices offered in the name of the community, therefore in general there were

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(1) **Loarca op. c. p. 130.** Estos naturales destas yslas no tienen ningun tiempo ni lugar dedicado para hacer sacrificios ni oración.

(2) **Loarca op. 130.** Los sacrificios y ofrendas que hacen al dios Pandaque vista en aquel cerro de Mayas.

(3) **Loarca op. 128.** Quando algun hijo suyo o pariente esta enfermo toman y metense en un barangay los parientes y con una baylana ques como sacerdotisa, y una caxa llena de mantas y otras cosas, y a donde la sacerdotisa les dice que la arrojen en la mar la arrojan pidiendo favor y ayuda a su antepasado, para su enfermedad.

no common or public temples nor a common place for religious worship." (1).

Chirino says: *"in general"*; Gaspar de San Agustin wrote in his book about a tradition which seems to prove the existence of a common place of worship: "In the Island of Panay near the city of Dumalag, at the foot of a mountain there was a cave with several openings, in one of the largest of these openings an altar with several steps leading to it had been erected. Now it seems that in the early times offerings were laid upon this altar and that the inhabitants of Panay flocked to this place. (2). It is difficult to assert if this tradition had any serious foundation but the writer of the Conquista also declared that "the inhabitants of these Islands have neither altars nor temples." (3).

In fact no remains can be found of temples built for public worship. Chirino says: "Everyone offered his sacrifices for his own intentions in a special place in his home." (4). Morga asserts the same (5) and Legaspi even before Chirino, remarked that there were no temples but that sacrifices were offered at home. Sometimes on the advice of the priestesses, next to the old hut a new one was built to serve for the religious ceremonies. (6).

Juan de la Isla tells how the place, where the sacrifice was to be offered was each time decorated with greens and cloth.

When a new hut was built for the ceremony this was done

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(1) **Chirino op. c. p. 77.** Mas enfin, generalmente no era usado el tener templo comun, como los antiguos gentiles. ni se juntaban á solemnidades en lugar cierto, ni tenían sacrificios públicos y comunes, ofrecidos en nombre de la comunidad.

(2) **Gaspar de San Aug. op. c. p. 480-481.** Porque en la falda de este monte; esta una cueva que atraviesse todo el cerco de la una á la otra parte. La una boca esta el Oriente, y la otra al poniente; y dentro de esta cueva, casi a la mediana tienen diversos senos y huecos a las dos lados, a modo de celdas de Ermitaños, muy bien labradas, y bastantemente grandes, y ya una mayor que todos, con muchas grados a la entrada, y dentro un altar, labrado de la misma peña. Es tradición que en los tiempos passados fué aquel el mas celebre adoratorio de los Indios, donde acudían todos los de la Provincia de Panay, con ofrendas, y dones para las Sacerdotisas, y Babaylanas, que habitaban en aquella cueva; donde el demonio con especial assistencia les daba respuestas en sus sacrificios, que la oían todos los circumstantes; por cuya causa llamaron Pangibalon al cerro, que (como he dicho) significa pasmo, y admiración.

(3) **Conquista p. 29.** No tienen altares ni templos ningunos los naturales destas yslas.

(4) **Chirino op. c. p. 77.** Sino los particulares, que cada uno por su intención ó necesidad en su casa ó lugar particular ofrecía.

(5) **Morga op. c. p. 197.** En todas estas islas, no uvo templos, ni casas comunes de adoraciones de ydolos.

(6) **Gaspar de San Augustin Vol. I. p. 19.** Las quales, por no tener ellos templos determinados para esto, mandaban hazer una como Ermita pequeña que llaman Olango: y si era por salud de algun enfermo, se hazia la función en su misma casa.

Archivo del Bibl. Fil. Tom. V. p. 442. No tienen templos.

in a very short time for according to Colin, they had everything at hand and everyone rendered assitance. (1).

Chirino mentions small temples, which were made of bamboo, and built in the proximity of the houses of Taitay; but according to information received, no sacrifices were offered in these temples which nevertheless were consecrated to the Anitos. (2).

At the entrance of a small village of the Visayas, Chirino saw a small hut in which sacrifices were offered. (3). In Mindanao in the alleys around the houses, he saw idols before which perfumes were burned. (4).

Colin summarizing says: "In their own homes or in a like place they had a kind of sanctuary in which they placed their idols and burned perfumes" (5). The "tabernacolos" mentioned by Pigafetta can not be considered as temples, for they were huts built on the seaside on the occasion of a sacrifice and whither the people came to partake of the sacrificed meat. (6).

According to the given texts, the only furniture of these small sanctuaries was: some "idols", a brazier, charcoal and perfumes.

As sacrifices and oblations were also made to the spirits of the deceased, their tombs became as many places of worship. The places of burial previously mentioned were:

1. the house itself; 2. under the house; 3. in the fields, or by the house.

Now it happened that "some persons before death selected for themselves a chosen burial spot from where they might at-

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(1) **Colin op. c. tom. 1. p. 67.** Si el sacrificio era por peligro de muerte en caso de enfermedad, mandava el Ministro que se fabricase casa de nuevo a costa del enfermo, grande, y capaz para celebrarle. Haziase la obra en breve por estar los materiales a mano, y acudir a ello toda la vezindad.

(2) **Chirino op. c. p. 77.** No tenían templos señalados ni días publicos de fiestas generales. Solo cuando fuimos a Taitay hallé que muchas casas tenían otra mas pequeña como torrecilla de caña labrada con alguna curiosidad a la cual pasaban, de la es principal por un corta pontezuela tambien de caña, En estas se ponían a sus costuras y otras obras de manos, con lo cual disimulaban el misterio de la casilla. Pero segun me informaron algunos fieles era verdaderamente dedicada al anito.

(3) **Chirino op. c. p. 77.** Tambien en algunos lugarejos de Pintados hllé a la entrada del pueblo una casilla pequeña con solo el techo y entresuelo, que servia de sacrificadero.

(4) **Chirino op. c. p. 77.** En Mindanao ví en muchos casas de parte de fuera armadas unas anditas pequeñas de caña no mal hechos pero si mal hechos unos idolillos de palo, que tenían en ellas, y delante del idolillo un tiesto con algunas brasas y un poco de mal zahumerio, que debía de ser el sacrificio.

(5) **Colin op. c. tom. 1. p. 66.** Solían tener en sus propias casas, no fuera de ellas en alguna cueva, o lugar semejante, algun modo de adoratorios en que estavan colocadas los idolos, y delante un braserillo con sahumerio.

(6) **Pigafetta op. c. p. 50.** Mandó despues hacer lo mismo con muchos tabernaculos construidos en la playa, en los que el pueblo solía comer la carne consagrada a los ídolos.

tract the attention of the living and thus receive many offerings and tokens of veneration." (1).

Chirino relates the case of an Indio "who asked to be buried on the sea shore between Dulac and Abuyo, in the island of Leyte, so that he might be invoked as god of the Sea." (2). Another Indio asked "to be buried in a definite spot on Mount Antipolo, so that he might inspire fear in the living." (3).

It will not be necessary to say that these burial places became inviolable for the Indios, and inspired them with the greatest respect or rather with the greatest fear. Thus for instance in the above text of Chirino, in regard to the burial place of Antipolo, the writer says that no one in the future dared to cultivate the ground where this person had been buried.

B. TIME

Since they (the Indios) had no temples because they had no common worship, "they also had no determined feastdays upon which they might have held public worship" (4). Chirino proceeds saying "Since all their religious exercises were strictly personal, they were consequently performed according to the will of each person and at a time when they considered it necessary to offer a sacrifice. (5).

The festival which, according to Colin, was called "Fiesta dal Gran Dios" had no fixed time since it was celebrated out of vanity, pride and ostentation. (6).

It was usually in the time of sickness that sacrifices were offered to the spirits. (7).

Loarca also testifies that "there was no fixed time in which to offer sacrifices, but that the sacrifices took place on the important occasions in life as for instance in time of sickness, during the harvest and in time of war." (8).

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(1) **Chirino op. c. p. 75.** En consequencia de esto elegían por sepulcro algun lugar señalada.

(2) **Chirino ibidem.** Como uno que ví yo en la ribera de la mar entre Dulac y Abuyo que es en la isla de Leyte. El cual mandó ponerse allí en su ataud en una casa sola distante de poblado á fin de ser reconocido por dios de los navigantes.

(3) **Chirino ibidem.** Y otro que en los montes de Antipolo se había hecho sepultar en ciertas tierras, por cuya reverencia ninguno las osaba cultivar.

(4) **Chirino op. c. p. 77.** No tenían templos señalados, ni días publicos de fiestas generales.

(5) **Chirino op. c. p. 77.** Cada uno por su intención o necesidad en su casa ofrecía.

(6) **Colin op. c. Vol. I p. 67.** Si era por fiesta que hazian a algun principal por ostentación, y vanida, llamavanla fiesta del gran Dios.

(7) **Cfr. Colin op. c. Vol. I. p. 67.**

(8) **Loarca op. c. p. 130-132.** Estos naturales de estas islas no tienen ningun tiempo ni lugar dedicado para hacer sacrificios ni oración sino cuando alguno esta enfermo, por sementeras o por sus guerras hacen sus sacrificios que llaman Bailanes.

Duration of the Sacrifices.

The Sacrifices or better the *festivities* lasted sometimes for many days.

The writer of the Conquista who made a careful study of these sacrifices and who had been an eye-witness says: "the festivities held in honor of the idols at the occasion of sickness lasted sometimes seven or eight days." (1).

According to Chirino the funeral-feast held in honor of a hero who had died in war, lasted a very long time during which sacrifices were continually offered to him and for him. (2).

The mourning of the Indios had certainly a religious character since they abstained for a time from certain kinds of food and beverages, and this mourning lasted for a time more or less long according to the different circumstances. (3).

Pigafetta describing the ceremonies performed around the corpse of a principal says that "they lasted for five or six days" (4) and Loarca says that the Anitos were invoked as long as the sickness lasted. (5).

Did the religious ceremonies consist exclusively of a sacrifice or an oblation?

Certainly not, and therefore it was stated above "these sacrifices or better these festivities."

The writer of the Conquista is less lenient in his expressions for he calls these sacrifices drinking bouts. (6) All the witnesses declare unanimously that drinking was a leading feature of their religious ceremonies.

Legaspi describing a sacrifice offered for the health of a sick person says "the ceremony ends with such excessive drinking that no one dares to return home" (7) and Chirino, so much inclined to favor the Indios is obliged nevertheless to assert that they drank most at the occasion of sickness, death and mourning, when sacrifices were offered." (8).

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(1) **Conquista p. 29.** Acabado el manganito o borrachera, que suele durar siete ó ocho días.

(2) **Chirino op. c. p. 108.** Las exequias que les celebraban, durando mucho el ofrecer sacrificios a ellos ó por ellos.

(3) **Cfr. Chirino op. c. p. 108-109 and Loarca op. c. p. 136-138.**

(4) **Pigafetta op. c. p. 52.** El cadaver permanece en la casa cinco o seis días, en los que no cesan las citadas ceremonias.

(5) **Cfr. Loarca op. c. p. 172.**

(6) **Conquista op. c. p. 29.** El manganito o borrachera.

(7) **Gaspar de San Augustin vol 1. p. 195 col b.** Y despues fenese la solemnidad en tan gran embriaguez; que ninguno acierta a bolver en su casa.

(8) **Chirino op. c. p. 112.** El tiempo de los convites en que comían y bebían demasiadamente, aunque mas era el beber mucho mas que no el comer era como acabamos de decir en ocasiones de enfermos, de muertos y de lutos. Hacíase también en desposorios y bodas, en sacrificios.

Both Loarca (1) and Morga (2) testify also that during the sacrifice they gave themselves over to a lusty drinking.

C. MINISTERS OF WORSHIP.

1.o *Who were these ministers?*

As previously stated, everyone could offer sacrifices whenever he wished and wherever he wished. (3). But there was a certain class of persons whose special function this was. They were men or women for according to Chirino, one could choose a man or a woman according to his own liking or devotion. (4). The same writer testifies that these ministers of worship were numerous. (5).

Pigafetta asserts that only a certain class of old women had the power to bless the pigs (6) and Legaspi agrees to this. (7). The Narrator of the Legaspi expedition is not so radical in his testimony, he says that in general, women performed the function of priesthood. (8). Juan de La Isla speaking of the pagan priests calls them by their name "Baylanes" (9).

Loarca gives the same name Baylanes to the priestesses and to the priests but he names the women first and his text seems to indicate that the female ministers were preferred to the male. (10).

The priestesses are also mentioned by the writer of the Conquista. (11).

Morga calls the priests and priestesses "Catalonas" (12).

Loarca writing of the Moros of Luzon called their priests

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(1) **Loarca op. c. p. 172.** Mientras que el catalonan estava desmayado estan los indios cantando y bebiendo.

(2) **Morga op. c. p. 197.** Todo se convertía en comida y borrachera.

(3) **Cfr. Chirino op. c. p. 77.**

(4) **Chirino op. c. p. 77.** Escogiendo juntamente su particular ministro macho ó hembra a su devoción y gusto.

(5) **Chirino ibidem.** De que había copia.

(6) **Pigafetta op. c. p. 51.** Unicamente las viejas estan facultadas para consagrar así dicho animal.

(7) **Gaspar de San Augus. Vol. I. p. 196 col. b.** A este hazian sus sacrificios por medio de unas sacerdotisas que llaman Babaylanes.

(8) **Doc. ined. ser 2. tom. 3. doc. 39. p. 113.** Habla a las sacerdotisas, que por la mayor parte son mugeres las que hacen esta imbocación.

(9) **Ibid. doc. 40. p. 233-234.** Para hazer este sacrificio tienen sacerdotes que ellos los llaman Baylanes y tienen entendido que estos hablan con sus dioses.

(10) **Loarca op. c. p. 132.** De aquí llaman Bailanes a las mujeres sacerdotisas o a los varones que hacen ese ofcio.

(11) **Archivo del Bibl. Filipino tom. IV. p. 28-29.** Tienen el ydolo que ellos llaman Batala y ciertas mugeres viejas que ellos tienen por sacerdotisas y yndios viejos.

(12) **Morga op. c. p. 197.** Ni avia sacerdotes ni relijiosos que administrasen las cosas de la religion; si no era, algunos viejos y viejas, que llaman Catalonas, grandes hechizeros y brujos que traian engañados a los demas.

"Catalonas" which according to him means the same as "Vaylan" by the Visayas (1). In conclusion let us state the testimony of Chirino who declares that the Indios had men and women who ministered at their sacrifices and that these priests were called Catalonan by the Tagalos and Babaylan by the Visayas. (2).

2.o *Was any special training required for this function?*

From the few texts referring to this fact we may conclude that the young were taken in the service of the elders who instructed them in the secrets of their profession. For example the priestess mentioned by Legaspi was assisted by a young girl who performed the office of assistant while she learned the function which she would later on perform (3).

Chirino says that this function was taught to others usually to members of the family or to the best friends of the priest; but those who were instructed could enter into this office only on the death of their master, for they received his sacerdotal function as an heirloom. This heirloom was always welcomed on account of the great advantages which were attached to it (4).

3.o *In what did the sacerdotal function consist?*

The priests and priestesses offered sacrifices to the gods and to the Anitos; tried to ascertain the wishes of the anitos and communicate them to the living.

4.o *What was the social position of these priests and priestesses?*

Colin declares that these persons were usually very rich. (5) And no wonder. First of all they had a right to a part of the sacrifice; secondly no one could attend the sacrifice without bringing a present with him: gold, cloth, poultry or any

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(1) **Loarca op. c. p. 172.** Llamavan un catalonan, que es lo mismo que Vaylan entre los Pintados que es como sacerdote.

(2) **Chirino op. c. p. 77.** Tenían sacerdotes hombres y mugeres: que los Tagalos llaman Catalonan, y los Bisayas, Babaylan.

(3) **Gaspar de San Augustin Vol. I. p. 195 col. b.** Tomando en la mano un abanico de paja, y una caña delgada, que ordinariamente la tiene la que haze oficio de Sacristana, que es una muchacha, que aprende el oficio, para quando sea grande.

(4) **Chirino op. c. p. 78.** Ganase tambien esta dignidad enseñando el oficio por particular amistad ó parentesco ó dejándole en herencia. Es esta herencia de estima para su ceguedad y codicia... de todos los sacrificios sacan los tales ministros infernales gruesa ofrenda, que toda es para ellos. See also **Colin op. c. Vol. I. p. 67.**

(5) **Colin op. c. Vol. I. p. 68.** Estos. (sacerdotes y sacerdotisas) de ordinario eran riquillos.

other gift according to his personal means and devotion. And all these presents in addition to the share of the sacrifice made up a fee, which according to Chirino was not to be despised (1).

The gold jewels offered to the anitos as a ransom for the health of a sick (2), went most probably also into the possession of the Catalonans.

No wonder then that Chirino and Loarca testify that the priestesses were finely dressed and wore many jewels (3). According to Chirino the priests and priestesses were held in consideration and respected by all (4) and yet when he adds to this that after the sacrifice they were the most intoxicated (5) he does not give us a high opinion of these persons.

Colin contradicts Chirino when he says that "they (the priests) were neither respected nor honored since they were lazy, living on the labor of others and as soon as their services at the ceremonies were ended they were no longer regarded with respect (6). This last statement is certainly more in accordance with the slaving fear which the Indios always had for anything in contact with the supernatural; and from Colin we may conclude that the Indios looked upon their priests as powerful persons as long as they needed their help while at other times they preferred not to have intercourse with them. This was also the conclusion reached by Delegado (7).

5.o *In regard to the sacerdotal vestments,* few details are to be found in the sources. Pigafetta saw two priestesses who threw a few pieces of cloth around them and one of them tied a handkerchief around her head in such a way as to form two horns on the forehead; she held another piece of cloth in her hands while the other priestess carried a banderole (8).

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(1) **Chirino op. c. p. 78.** Porque ninguna persona se ha de hallar al sacrificio que no ofrezca cual oro, cual algodon, cual gallina, y asi otras cosas cada uno conforme a su devoción y posible. Lo cual junto con la ofrenda principal... venía a hazer un buen monton, y de buen precio y ganancia.

(2) **See Loarca op. c. p. 172.**

(3) **Chirino op. c. p. 78.** Asi de ordinario estos ministros andan bien vestidos y aderezados de joyas y preseas.

See also Loarca op. c. p. 132.

(4) **Chirino op. c. p. 78.** Porque de mas de la reputación y honra, con que todos le respetan.

(5) **Chirino ibidem.** Comen y beben y embriaganse, y quien mas, el sacerdote ó la sacerdotisa.

(6) **Colin op. c. tom. I. p. 68.** Pero no por eso eran honrados, ni estimados porque les tenía por gente aragana, que vivía de sudor ageno; y passada la ocasión no se acordavan de ellos.

(7) **Delgado.** "Historia General de Filipinas". p. 365. No por eso eran honrados, ni estimados entre ellos, sino solamente en estos casos urgentes.

(8) **Pigafetta op. c. p. 51.** Se cubren con los otros retazos. La primera se ata a la cabeza un pañuelo que anuda en la frente dejando como dos cuernos, toma en la mano otro pañuelo, tocando y bailando llama al sol. La segunda toma una banderola y baila como la otra.

Legaspi is more explicit and gives a more or less complete description of their manner of dressing "the priestess, he says, dresses in a very queer manner, she wears a wig of golden hair and a diadem on the head, in her hands she holds a straw fan and a bamboo stick. (1). It seems that Loarca also saw them dressed for he says "the priestesses dress very elegantly, they wear garlands on their head and glitter with gold and jewels" (2). From this it is plain that Legaspi and Loarca did not have the same taste in regard to the manner of dress of the Visayan priestesses.

D. OBJECT OF THE CULT.

1.o At the question: *To whom was the cult offered?*

What was the basis, the final aim of the cult? The reply ought to be: The cult, the worship of the Indios was offered to the spirits, the Anitos and was a *"do ut des"* a gift to receive.

The object of their cult was not to honor the anitos, or to express their veneration for them; it was no exterior sign of their inner feelings of worship or adoration; the religion, the cult for the Indios was nothing else but a means by which they hoped to obtain what they desired; a means to curry favour with the anitos who then protected their lands, their property, their health, and became their protectors and defenders in all their undertakings. Sometimes their cult was simply a means to prevent the anitos from harming them. (3).

Thus the cult of the Indios existed only out of self-interest or pure egotism. Describing the relatitons of the Indios with the Anitos, we might apply to it the same statement which the Narrator of the Legaspi Expedition used to describe the first relation of the Spaniards with the natives of these Islands: "they came to us continually to ask for they are very fond of asking, and they gave only when they were sure to receive something better in return." (4).

It may be necessary to repeat here that the worship which the Indios seemed to give to the plants, the stones and the rocks

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(1) **Gaspar de San Augustin Vol. I. p. 195 col. b.** Donde la Sacerdotisa se ponía unas ridículas vestiduras, con una cabellera postiza muy amarilla y en la cabeza una diadema, tomando en la mano un abanico de paja, y una caña delgada.

(2) **Loarca op. c. p. 132.** Pone se la sacerdotisa muy galana con su guirnalda en la caveca y mucho oro.

(3) **Gaspar de San Augustin Vol. I. p. 195 col. b.** Y solamente sacrificaban al demonio y su persona; a quien reconocían, por temor de que les hiziesse daño.

(4) **Col. de doc. in. ser 2. tom. 2. p. 254.** Acudía siempre gente de nuevo a pedir, porque son en extremo grado de tomar, mas dar no lo darán sino fuera por mas interés de lo que vale.

was intended for the spirits which they believed dwelt in these objects (1). The remains of the dead especially the corpses and the bones were also the object of their cult. In the previous pages it was stated how the corpses were embalmed and the bones preserved in a precious box which was kept among the other treasures in the upper part of the house. (2). Now and then offerings were made to these remains. (3). The statues, "the idols", were also objects of their cult, yet only on the occasion when sacrifices were to be offered to the Anitos. Then, these "idols" were taken out of their dark corners to become an object of veneration while in ordinary circumstances they were neglected. (4).

2.o *At the arrival of the Spaniards did the Indios have amulets or talismans?*

In other words, did the Indios wear these small objects to which they ascribed a supernatural protecting power?

As far as we can trace the sources, there is no question about amulets or talismans. It is true that the Indios used the teeth of the Caiman to draw lots but nothing indicates that these teeth were used as amulets or talismans. (5).

3.o *Were there not some living persons among the Indios who were considered as saints or as consacrated?*

According to Chirino, dying old men were venerated as being deified and the dying themselves were most earnest about this deification for they assumed such majesty in all their words and actions that they really seemed to believe in their higher state. (6). This veneration of the dying was again inspired by selfinterest because, as Loarca states it of the Moros of Luzon, they venerate their dying ancestors and Anitos for they believed that after their death, they would go to serve Bathala and thus

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(1) **Cfr. Chirino op. c. p. 76.**

(2) **Colin op. c. p. 69.** O en lo alto de la casa entre las alhajas que allí suelen guardar.

(3) **Cfr. Morga op. c. p. 197.**

(4) **Cfr. Chirino op. c. p. 75.** A los cuales tenían recurso en sus necesidades.

Also **Conquista p. 29.** Ponenlos por los rrincones de la casa y ansi los tienen syn ninguna reverencia.

(5) **Gaspar de San Agustin Vol. I. p. 197 col. b.**
Colin op. c. Vol. I. p. 68; and Sta. Inés p. 55.

(6) **Chirino op. c. p. 75.** Y generalmente, cualquiera que podía salir con ella, attribuía divinidad a su padre viejo cuando moría. Y los mismos viejos morían con este desvanecimiento y embuste, representando en su misma enfermedad y muerte, en todas sus acciones una gravedad y termino a su parecer divino.

they hoped that their forefathers would become their best intercessors with Bathala. (1).

No clue can be found in regard to persons who were in the special service of the one or the other god or spirit and consequently would have been consecrated to them in a special manner. All the authors in general mention the fact that some persons stood in direct relation with the devil although they do not all agree with Chirino who says that the devil spoke to the Indios by means of the idols or of their priests." (2). This will be treated in detail in the chapter on "Sorcery."

4. *We must still examine the things necessary in the exercise of the cult.*

1. Persons: It has just been stated that the priests or priestesses had sometimes an assistant who learned the function. Pigafetta remarked that sometimes more than one priestess performed the ceremony. Describing the ceremony of the sacrifice of the pig of which he had been an eye-witness he says that "two women were at work" (3). Sometimes one of the spectators was called upon to participate in the completion of the sacrifice.

Colin for instance, declared that for certain sacrifices the priestess selected from among the spectators the prettiest and best dressed girl who was ordered to give the death blow to the pig. (4).

Those for whom the sacrifice was offered were naturally present at the religious ceremonies. If the sacrifice was offered in the name of a sick person, the ceremonies were performed in his presence and usually in his house. (5). All the members of the family were invited to be present (6) and to take part in the sacrifice by singing, drinking and eating. (7). Among the persons participating in the sacrifice there remains still to be mentioned those who at certain funeral ceremonies were put to

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(1) **Cfr. Loarca op. c. p. 172-174.** A estos tambien llaman anitos porque dicen que en muriéndose van a servir al Batala... rogándole sea su yntercesor con el Batala, ques El que tienen por Dios.

(2) **Chirino op. c. p. 74.** El mismo les hablaba en sus ídolos y en sus ministros.

(3) **Pigafetta op. c. p. 50.** Detras van dos mujeres viejas.

(4) **Colin op. c. p. 67.** Mandava la Catalona, que la moca de mejor parecer y mas bien aderecada, hiziese el oficio de dar la lancada al animal con la ceremonia de ciertos bayles a su uso.

(5) **Cfr. Conquista p. 28; and Colin op. c. Vol. I. p. 67.** Acabada passavan el enfermo a nuevo aposento.

(6) **Conquista p. 28.** Quando algun principal esta malo convida á sus deudos.

(7) **Loarca op. c. p. 172.** Mientras que el catalonan estava desmayado estan los yndios cantando y bebiendo y olgandose.

death: namely the slaves (1) who took at least a passive part in the funeral ceremonies.

2. *Animals and objects.* Legaspi writing of the sacrifices states that at the entrance of the priestesses the Indios came forward with their offerrings which consisted of a fat pig, a chicken and other eatables, also the best wines which they possessed and all this was arranged with great care. (2).

According to Loarca the other eatables consisted of rice, meat and fish (3) and the author mentions on another page bananas and a jar of rice-wine. (4).

Among the different offerings Colin mentions the pig, the tortoise and very large oysters. (5). The pig seems to have been the animal by excellence for the sacrifice and Juan de la Isla says that the Indios took a special care of the pink colored ones which were carefully raised until they were full grown and ready to be offered as a sacrifice to their gods. (6).

It has also been previously mentioned that the Indios offered gold and jewels as a sacrifice to their gods. (7).

3. *Other objects used in the cult.*

Legaspi testifies that all the offerings were placed on a low altar which was richly adorned. (8). Loarca also mentions an altar used by the Indios (9) but Colin declares that "they had no altar nor anything of the kind. (10).

It may be that Colin wished to point out that, that which was called an altar by Legaspi and Loarca was not at all an altar such as Colin who was a Catholic priest, represented to himself. Moreover Legaspi says that it was very low.

During the time of the ceremony music was played on all kinds of instruments.

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(1) **Gaspar de San Aug. Vol. I. p. 197 col. a.** Tambien solían enterrar esclavos con los mas principales, para que los sirviessen en el otro mundo.

(2) **Gaspar de San Aug. op. c. p. 195 col. b.** La cual suele ser un animal de cerdo muy gordo, ó una gallina, con otros manjares ordinarios, y de los mejores vinos que ellos usan. Puesto todo en su lugar.

(3) **Loarca op. c. p. 172.** Juntando mucho arroz y carne y pescado.

(4) **Loarca op. c. p. 132.** "Unas tinajas de vino."

Ibidem. Ponen allí el puerco guisado y arroz y platanos.

(5) **Colin op. c. p. 67.** Aparejado lo que se avia de sacrificar... tortuga marina, ostion de los grandes ó animal de cerdo.

(6) **Colección de doc. ined ser 2. tom. 3. doc. 40 p. 233.** Sacrifican a estos dioses puercos, especialmente guardian para ellos los bermejos y crianlos que sean muy grandes y gordos.

(7) **Cfr. Loarca op. c. p. 172.**

(8) **Gaspar de San Aug. op. c. Vol. p. 195 col. b.** Despues ponen el ofrendo sobre un altar baxo, muy adornado.

(9) **Loarca op. c. p. 132.** En un altar que alli tienen.

(10) **Colin op. c. p. 67.** Sin altar, ni cosa que lo pareciesse.

Pigafetta mentions large drums (1), Juan de la Isla says that during the time of the sacrifice the Indios made a dreadful noise with their gongs, their small drums and vases which they beat with small sticks that it was hardly possible for those present to understand each other. (2). Loarca gives the same testimony (3) adding that the priest had a bamboo stick about one brassa long which he used as a trumpet. (4). This instrument attracted also the attention of Pigafetta who said that he saw a priestess holding a bamboo trombone. (5). Yet every one speaking of the sacrifices mentions the gongs, to the music of which the ministers of the cult danced. Chirino calls them timbals or bells (6) and Colin "Campanas." (7).

The priests and the priestesses carried a lance with which they pierced the heart of the pig which was to be sacrificed? (8). This lance is also mentioned by Loarca. (9). Only Pigafetta mentions a torch which burnt during the sacrifice and which was later extinguished by the priestess who had killed the pig. (10).

E. ACTS OF THE CULT.

1.o *Prayer.*

1. If the testimony of Pigafetta can be taken for granted *ritual or official prayers* were offered to the Sun during the sacrifice. He says: "the two priestesses addressed themselves continually to the sun; the first speaking to the sun in a low tone and the second answering, (11).

Legaspi declares that the priestesses looked upward; he does not say that they prayed to the Sun, but that they spoke with the visions which they seemed to have. (12).

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(1) **Pigafetta op. c. p. 50.** Empiezan tocando unos grandes tambores.

(2) **Col. ser 2. tom. 3. p. 234.** Estan las mugeres tocando cierto genero de campanas y atamborzillos y con unos palillos en unas porcelanas que hazen una musica que apenas se oyen los unos a los otros.

(3) **Loarca op. c. p. 132.** Ay gran musica de campanas y atabales.

(4) **Ibidem.** El baylan toca un canuto de caña grueso y largo quasi una braca... a manera de boxina.

(5) **Pigafetta op. c. p. 51.** Llevando en la mano un trombon de caña.

(6) **Chirino op. c. p. 78.** Bailando el tal ministro haciéndolo al son del atabal o campana.

(7) **Colin op. c. p. 67.** Baylando a son de campanas.

(8) **Pigafetta op. c. p. 51.** Le dan una lanza.

(9) **Loarca op. c. p. 132.** Toma la lanca.

(10) **Pigafetta op. c. p. 51.** Durante la ceremonia ha estado ardiendo una antorcha que apaga la mujer que ha herido al cerdo.

(11) **Pigafetta op. c. p. 51.** Llama al sol... diciendo entre tanto muchas cosas al sol... La primera habla al sol siempre en voz baja, y la segunda le contesta.

(12) **Gaspar de San Aug. op. c. Vol. I. p. 195 col. b.** Haziendo muchos gestos, y visages muy feos, mirando al Cielo de quando en quando, y haziendo que ve visiones, y que habla con ellos.

Juan de la Isla in turn says that "they addressed their prayer to the gods, the anitos." (1).

Loarca testifies that the priestesses in their songs invoked the devil (2) and writing of the Moros of Luzon he states that they also invoked the devil. (3). The Narrator of the Legaspi expedition agrees with Loarca saying that "in their invocations they asked the devil to speak to them." (4).

Morga sums up the previous testimony in one sentence "the Catalones prayed to the Anitos." (5).

It is regrettable that not one of those ritual prayers has been transmitted to the present times for those written documents might have revealed a great deal concerning the conception of the Indios.

But here we ought to remember once more the words of Loarca who says: "they have no writing and therefore they preserve their interesting facts in songs" (6). thus these prayers were orally transmitted by the priestess to her successor.

a. *Who recited the official prayers?*

Only the priestess or the priest, others did not even seem to know them, or whenever they took an active part in the sacrifice it was only to eat or to drink and to enjoy themselves while the Catalonan lay in a swoon. (7).

The writer of the Conquista testifies to the fact that "only the priestess could recite the prayers while the others satisfied themselves with eating and drinking." (8).

b. *How did they pray?*

The question is here to know if these official prayers were said in earnest or if they were but a simple formula recited with the lips?

The answer is in favor of the last hypothesis that is to say it was but a prayer from the lips.

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(1) **Doc. in. ser 2. vol. 3. p. 284.** Hablan con sus dios.

(2) **Loarca op. c. p. 132.** Cantando ella sus cantares ynvoca al demonio.

(3) **Loarca op. c. p. 172.** Hacia sus ynvocaciones hasta que el demonio se le entrava.

(4) **Doc. en. ser 2. vol. 3. p. 113.** Y en estas imbocaciones ordinariamente para que el demonio venga a hablarles.

(5) **Morga op. c. p. 197.** Hazian oraciones y otras ceremonias a los ydolos por sus enfermos.

(6) **Loarca op. c. p. 120.** Por carecer de letras guardan estos naturales sus antiguedades en los cantares.

(7) **Loarca op. c. p. 172.** Estan los yndios cantando y bebiendo y olgándose.

(8) **Conquista p. 28-29.** En medio de la fiesta... ciertas mugeres viejas... ofrecenle de aquello que comen al ydolo y rruegan en su lengua por la salud del enfermo.

When it is known that these persons, priests and priestesses, were men and women whose only aim was to earn as much as they could, it cannot be expected that their prayers were the expression of their inner religious feelings. Moreover these external prayers were usually recited while dancing. (1). All the sources testify unanimously to this fact. Pigafetta for instance says "that the priestesses prayed to the sun while dancing" (2). And Chirino "the sacrifices were made while dancing." (3).

These dances were executed in such a savage manner with the accompaniment of such deafening music that "the priestesses fell on the ground in a swoon, foaming at the mouth." (4).

Chirino speaking of the ecstasies of the ministers testifies that "they lost all consciousness or at least pretended to do so." (5).

Legaspi declared "that the priestesses danced until they fell upon the ground where they lay unconscious with a devilish hue on their face." (6).

2. Besides these official prayers recited by the ministers of the cult during the sacrifice *there must have existed some other prayers* which were recited while offerings were made to the Anitos.

Thus for example we read in Chirino that whenever they saw a Caiman they (the Indios) greeted him with the word "Nono" and that they prayed him in a gentle and sweet voice, not to harm them. (7).

These prayers had probably no fixed form and were only in accordance with the aim of the offering. Morga remarks very judiciously that everyone honored his anitos in his own home, without following any fixed ceremonial or solemnity. (8).

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(1) **Gaspar de San Aug. op. c. p. 195 col. b.** Comienca la sacerdotisa a baylar.

(2) **Pigafetta op. c. p. 51.** Y bailando llama al sol.

(3) **Chirino op. c. p. 78.** El modo de sacrificar es: herir la tal ofrenda con ciertas ceremonias y mudanzas, que se suelen hacer bailando el tal ministro.

(4) **Loarca op. c. p. 132.** Y la derueca en el suelo y la hace hechar espumarajos.
Ibidem p. 172. El Catalonan estava desmayado y basqueando.

(5) **Chirino op. c. p. 78.** A este tiempo se les reviste el demonio ó lo fingen y hacen sus visajes y arrobamientos.

(6) **Gaspar de San Aug. op. c. p. 195 col. b.** Vuelve a baylar hasta que cae en tierra, como amortezida con un color diabolica.

(7) **Cfr. Chirino op. c. p. 79.**

(8) **Morga op. c. p. 197.** Cada uno tenía y hazia en su casa sus anitos sin ceremonia ni solemnidad cierta.

3. *What was the aim of their prayer?*

The private prayers were recited to put the Anitos in a favorable mood to accept their offerings. This is clear from the case of the Caiman just mentioned.

The prayers were recited to make known to the Anitos the object of their desires. Therefore they were petitions for a favor. For example in the Conquista we read that the priestesses prayed to obtain the health of a sick person. (1).

And Loarca declares that "they prayed their deceased parents to be their intercessors before Bathala." (2). This fact is also asserted by the Narrator of the Legaspi expedition who writes that "they (the Indios) went to the graves of their parents weeping and singing their praises so that they might obtain from them health, assistance and protection." (3).

As regard the official, ritual prayers which were usually called "invocations" their aim seems to have been to bring the object into direct contact with an anito for example "through invocations they made the spirit descent into a bamboo stick." (4).

According to Loarca the invocation had for aim to bring down the spirit of the Anito into the body of the priestess. (5).

Legáspi is of the same idea when he writes "that the devil communicated many things to the priestess." (6).

Chirino also testifies that the end of these invocations was "the devil's taking possession of the body of the priestess" yet personally he seems to doubt the reality of this seeming fact for he says: "The Indios at least pretend that the devil comes in them." (7).

The object of this entrance of the spirits into an object or into the body of the priestess was to know the desires of the spirits: "then they (the priestesses) communicate the desires of the anitos and designated the things which were to be offered as a sacrifice." (8).

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(1) **Conquista p. 29.** Ruéganle en su lengua por la salud del enfermo.

(2) **Loarca op. c. p. 174.** Rogándole sea su yntercesor con el Batala.

(3) **Doc. en. ser 2. tom. 3. p. 113.** Acuden a sus sepulturas con grandes llantos y alabanzas a pedirles sanidad, favor y socorro.

(4) **Doc. en. ser 2. tom. 3. p. 113.** Llaman al demonio y dicen que le hacen venir en una caña hueca.

Cfr. Juan de la Isla. Ibid. p. 234.

(5) **Loarca op. c. p. 172.** Hacia sus yuvocaciones hasta que el demonio se le entrava en el cuerpo.

(6) **Gasp. de San Aug. op. c. p. 196 col. b.** Y refiere mil desparates que el demonio la ha dicho.

(7) **Chirino op. c. p. 78.** A este tiempo se les reviste el demonio o lo fingen.

(8) **Doc. en. ser 2. tom. 3. p. 113.** El la respuesta da al público y les dice lo que han de ofrecer.

When the sacrifice was offered for the health of a sick person the priests, once possessed, foretold how the sickness would end. (1).

If the news he communicated was favorable, they all feasted until they fell from exhaustion, if on the contrary he foretold death, he began by praising the qualities of the sick saying that the Anitos had selected him to be taken up among them, and he encouraged the members of the family to treat him henceforth as an Anito. (2).

If the sacrifice was offered for any other purpose, once that the possession had taken place, the priests and priestesses foretold what would happen in the future (3) or what they had seen or heard during their so called ecstacy (4) and Legaspi says that the Indios readily accepted all this as true, because most of the things foretold could never be verified. (5).

Among the Indios there was no question of a higher aim or a more nobler ideal in prayer for they never thought of having inner feelings of worship or thanksgiving. It never occurred to them that prayer might be an expression of their love. Their prayer was a selfish asking, and even their direct intercourse with the spirits had no other aim but to obtain through this possession a temporal good.

2.o *Ritual Purification.*

Legaspi describes a purification which has all the signs of a religious purification as the priests and priestesses took an active part in it. It was as follows: "When a principal was liberated from captivity he was considered impure and could not return home without having previously taken a bath in the sea or in the river; then the priest or the priestess came dressed in his official vestments to perform the ceremony of purification. A coconut was split in two and the liquid poured

(1) **Loarca op. c. p. 172.** Que el Catalonan buelve en si y les da la respuesta quel anito le dava.

(2) **Colin op. c. p. 67.** Si la profecía era de vida, comia y bebían cantando las historias de los antepassados del enfermo, y del Anito a quien se hazia el sacrificio, y baylaban hasta caer molidos. Si la profecía era de muerte, soldava la profetisa su mala nueva con alabancas del enfermo, por cuyas virtudes, y proezas dezia, que los Anitos le avian elegido para hazerle uno dellos; y desde luego se le encomendava, y a toda la familia, para que se acordase de ella en la otra vida, añadiendo otras lisonjas y mentiras, con que le hazia tragar la muerte al pobre enfermo; y a los deudos, y amigos obligava a que desde luego le tratassen, y festejassen, como Anito, y al cabo de todo parava en comer y beber, que era el dexo de sus sacrificios.

(3) **Loarca op. c. p. 132.** En los demas casos dice los sucesos.

(4) **Chirino op. c. p. 78.** Anuncian lo que han visto y oido.

(5) **Gaspar de San Augustin op. c. Vol. I. p. 195 col. b.** Lo qual creen los circumstantes con gran fe, porque las mas son cosas, que no se pueden averiguar.

over the head of the person considered impure and the same was done with the yolk of an egg. After this he took a second bath and was then considered consecrated and ready to be welcomed by his family and friends, the ceremony then ended with a carousal." (1).

Chirino wrote a whole chapter on this subject of "the baths" but in general he speaks of them as means of naturel property. Yet when he stated that after giving birth the mother and the child were obliged to take a bath in the river even when the water was cold, he might very well have referred to a ritual purification (2) as this last bath was also mentioned by Morga. (3).

The allusions made by Chirino to the baths given to the corpses and the bath taken by those who had touched the corpses makes one presume that these baths were also regarded by the Indios as religious purifications. Moreover the writer declares that "these baths which were in usage among the Indios existed also among other nations as for instance among the Jews, the Egyptians and the Persians. (4). Now it is a fact that the baths mentioned in the Bible in the book "Leviticus" were ritual purifications. (5).

3.o *Ordeals.*

Ordeals seem to have been in existence among the Indios. They were certain tests which one accepted, trusting in a higher power to prove his innocence of accused persons.

Legaspi for example testifies that "whenever a person was accused of theft, he could obtain his freedom if for a certain time he could hold his hands in boiling water or in fire without giving the least sign of pain." This ordeal was only allowed if

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(1) **Gaspar de San Augustin op. c. Vol. I. p. 197 col. b.** Quando un Principal sale de cautiverio, antes que entra en su casa, se baña primero en el Mar, ó en algun Rio, y luego viene el Babaylan, o Babaylana, vestido, y aderezado con las vestiduras de su oficio; y despues de aver hecho algunas ceremonias, parte un coco, y le hecha en la cabeza el agua de el y asimismo una uema de huevo, y le envia nuevamente a que se bañe; lo cual haze muy diligente, y deste modo dizen que quedan santificados, y los reciben sus parientes, y amigos con grande alegría, y todo vienen a parar en la acostumbrada embriaguez.

(2) **Chirino op. c. p. 35.** Ni las paridas se guardan del baño ni dejan criatura que en naciendo no la bañen en los mismos rios y fuentes de agua fria.

(3) **Morga op. c. p. 174.** En naciendo la criatura luego la bañan y la madre lo mismo.

(4) **Chirino op. c. p. 109.** Los baños, asi de los difuntos como de los que les tocaban se hallan asi mismo en las sagradas Letras y en las republicas de los Egipcios y Persas y hoy en día entre muchas naciones.

(5) **Leviticus** Chap. XI. v. 24—27.

the thief was of the same social class as the person whom he was supposed to have robbed. (1).

Colin states a few more examples of ordeals: "The accused were given their wooden spear and told to dive into the river where the water was deepest. He who reappeared the first on the surface of the waters was proclaimed guilty. Naturally it often happened in this case that many were drowned in an attempt to escape the punishment. At other times a stone was thrown in a basin of boiling water and the one who refused to take it out was judged guilty. Or each one of the accused was given in his hands a wax candle of equal size and weight. These candles were all lighted at the same moment, and he whose candle was first extinguished was regarded as being the thief. (2). Colin calls these ordeals: "purgación canonica" canonical purifications.

4.o *Oaths.*

"In all the Islands they (the Indios) swear by the sun and by the moon, this we have noticed since our arrival" (3). this was the testimony given by the writer of the Conquista.

Their oaths, their imprecations, their promises were like to the following expressions: "May the caiman devour you if you do not speak the truth, or if you do not keep your promise or anything the like" (4) this testimony of Morga is confirmed by other authors. Colin for instance quotes several of these expressions: "May I die; May I turn into an ape; May the sun

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(1) **Gaspar de San Augustin op. c. Vol. I. p. 124 col. b.** Solamente el hurto tenía pena señalada, que era, quedar el agressor por esclavo, aviéndose hecho la probanza por testigos, y no aviendo conpurgación del delito; la qual fué acostumbrado hazer, metiendo el acusado las manos en agua muy caliente y suffriendo el fuego por algun tiempo sin haser ademan de flaqueza.

(2) **Colin op. c. p. 71-72.** En materia de hurto, si constava del delito, pero no del delinquente, siendo mas de uno los indiciados, avian de hazer purgación canónica en esta forma. Obligavanles primero a que cada uno pusiesse en monton un lio de paño, hojas ó lo que quisiessen, en que podían encubrir lo hurtado, y si acabada esta diligencia se hallava en el monton cessava el pleyto, sino hazian una de tres diligencias. Primera, ponerles en la parte del rio donde avia mas fondo, cada uno con su hasta de palo en la mano, y que todos a una como quien corre parejas, se zabullessen, el que primero salia fuera, era tenido por delinquente; y asi muchos se quedavan ahogados por el temor del castigo. Segunda, ponían una piedra en una vasija de agua hirviendo y mandavansela sacar de alli; el que rehusava meter la mano, pagava el hurto. Tercera, davan a cada uno su vela de cera de igual pavilo, tamaño y peso, encendidas a una, y aquel a quien primero se le apagava, era el culpado.

(3) **Conquista p. 29.** Juran por el sol y por la luna comunmente en todos estas islas tienen este juramento; y esto es lo que he visto entre stos desde el tiempo que aquí estamos en esta tierra.

(4) **Morga op. c. p. 197.** Sus juramentos, execraciones y promesas todos son... que el Buhayan te coma, sino dijeres la verdad, o cumplieres lo que prometes y cosas semejantes.

split us in two; May the women no longer care for us." Sometimes to enforce their statements they pictured upon the ground the most terrible animals saying that they might be devoured by the mif they do not keep their word. This solemnity was called "Pasambahan." (1).

In a document which is kept in the Archives of Simancas dated 1609 and which was edited by Retana as an appendix to the book "Sucesos of Morga," we find a few more threatening formalities which according to the writer of the document, were in usage among the Indios of Northern Luzon.

When a peace compact was concluded among the Indios, the two leaders of the opposing parties took each one an egg in his hands and dashing it to pieces they said: "may he who does not keep his word be destroyed in like manner" (2) or holding each one a burning candle in his hands they said "may he who does not keep his word be consumed like this candle" and blowing out the flame they added: "may he who does not fulfill his promise die like this candle." (3).

We may thus conclude from these different texts that the oaths of the Indios were imprecations which they made under the form of the most terrible curses. This was also the conclusion reached by Colin. (4).

5.o *Vows.*

Nowhere in the sources there is question of the Indios binding themselves in the one or the other manner, by a vow to the Anitos or the other spirits. It was only when they were in

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(1) **Colin op. c. Vol. I. p. 63.** Matay: muera yo, Cagtin nang Buaya, sea comido del Cayman; Maguin Amo, tornemo Nona. El mas usado es el Matay. Jurando los principales de Manila y Tondo la obediencia a nuestros Catolicos Reyes año de mil y quinientos y setenta y uno, confirmaron los conciertos de paz, y la sugeción con juramento, diziendo que el Sol les hendiesse por medio, que los Caymanes les comiesen; que las mugeres no les diessen favor, ni quisiessen bien si faltavan a su palabra. Algunas vezes para mayor solemnidad y confirmación de lo que se jurava, hazian el Pasambahan, que era traer delante la figura de alguna bestia monstruosa, diziendo que de ella fuessen despedacados si faltavan a lo que prometían.

(2) **Morga op. c. p. 416.** Y juraron las pazes segun su costumbre, que fué tomando un guebo Don Luis y otro principal que hablaba por todos y echando los guebos a un tiempo en el suelo, dijeron a una: que assi como se quebravan aquellos guebos se quebrasen ellos si no cumpliessen lo que avian prometido.

(3) **Morga op. c. p. 417.** Los principales de Sicat, Carat... pidieron perdon a Don Luis de lo passado, prometiendo paz y pagar el tributo en las species de la tierra. Juraron conforme a otro uso, tomando en las manos sendas belas, y Don Luis la suya, diciendo que assi se consumiese el que no cumpliese lo prometido o se saliese fuera en todo ó en parte, como aquella bela se consumia; y despues las mataron diziendo; que assi como moria aquella bela y se consumia matasse y acavasse el que quebrasse lo prometido.

(4) **Colin op. c. p. 68.** Los juramentos destas naciones todos son execratorios en forma de maldiciones horrendas.

need and on the very moment when they sought the help of the Anitos that they offered an oblation or a sacrifice.

6.o *Penance.*

In the chapter dealing with the subject: "Mourning" it was mentioned that some persons abstained from eating and drinking for a certain period. This was something like a free fast, Hence we refer to this chapter.

According to Colin this fasting or penance in honor of the dead was called "Sipa" by the Tagalos. (1).

Other mortifications were added to this fasting as for example the wearing of a bejuco band around the arms and the neck (2) the cutting of the hair and of the eyelashes, (3) and in certain cases the keeping of a strict silence in the place where the corpse reposed. (4). The length of this fasting and of these mortifications has been indicated in the same chapter entitled "Mourning."

7.o *Offering.*

When one speaks about offerings there is usually a distinction to be made as the word implies oblations, sacrifices and holocausts.

1. *Oblations.* In this study, especially in the paragraph "the worship of the Gods and of the Anitos, it has been repeatedly proved that oblations were offered by the Indios, yet there remains to be added that these oblations were sometimes very large as to their quantity. Loarca speaks of "much rice and meat and fish" and of much gold and many jewels which were offered as an oblation." (5).

Everyone might personally offer an oblation and this in any circumstance whenever he wished to obtain a favor from the Anitos. This is most probably the conclusion found in Chirino when he writes: "the individuals made their offerings for their personal intentions and necessities in their own homes or in another place" (6) as for instance upon the graves of their ancestors.

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(1) **Colin op. c. Vol. I. p. 69.** Este género de ayuno o penitencia por los difuntos llaman los Tagalos Sipa.

(2) **Cfr. Loarca op. c. p. 136.**

(3) **Colin op. c. p. 69-70.** Raparse cabeca y cejas.

(4) **Cfr. Chirino op. c. p. 108.**

(5) **Loarca op. c. p. 172.** Juntando mucho arroz, y carne y pescado ofrecían muchas cadenas y joyas.

(6) **Chirino op. c. p. 77.** Los particulares... cada uno por su intención, o necessidad en su casa o lugar particular ofrecía.

2. *Sacrifice.* We cannot resist translating here a page of the great Ethnologist Mgr. Leroy who in his book "Christus" furnishes a most remarkable study on the people of inferior culture. This page can in its whole be applied to the Indios.

> "Man will thus take in this world all that he needs. But in laying aside the premises and in offering now and then a symbolic part of that what he consumes he will fulfill his duties and safeguard himself against a possible call to order, by recognizing the supreme domain of the supernatural world, whether this invisible power appears to him as a Supreme Being who rules everything or whether he thinks that in certain circumstances he has to deal with Spirits who rule a part of the earth or of the waters, or whether at last he thinks to be in relation with the manes of his ancestors.
>
> "And to ascertain that these previous deductions do no longer belong to him, by a special ceremony man gives them a sacred character which henceforth will prohibit him and his fellow creature from laying hands on it. If man does not go any further this is what is called an *oblation.*
>
> "Yet often to characterize more plainly his intention, man separates himself from the offering by destroying it for the usage of the mortals and thus transporting it, in a certain sense, into the invisible world for which it was destined. This is then the *sacrifice.* This offering thus consecrated and sacrificed is henceforth penetrated with a supernatural power. If it is incorporated, if it is assimilated it will furnish the means by which one enters into a closer union with the spirit who has covered it by his power or who has entered into it; it will become a means to associate with him, to contract or renew a pact or an allegiance with him. This is the *communion.*
>
> "There is no doubt that this theory, thus reasoned, never occurred to the mind of the Primitive and yet the ceremonies of the cult, the ideas on which these ceremonies are based are therefore not the less in existence." (1).

The offerings described by Mgr. Leroy are found among the Indios, for they think to be in relation with the "Anitos" who once were members of their own family.

The sacrifice is an offering of a higher degree because it is destroyed by a special person: the priest or priestess.

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(1) **Christus:** Manuel d'histoire des Religions par Huby and Co. **p. 66-67.**

Were there human sacrifices?

Morga says very categorically: "They (the Indios) never offered human sacrifices as this was the case with other nations" (1). Now it is a fact that the slaves killed at the death of a principal (2) were not a sacrifice, for this was not done to acknowledge the power of a supreme being but only that they might be of use to the spirit who, in the next life, might need their help.

But in opposition to the testimony of Morga stands this of Colin who says "that when a sacrifice was offered for the intentions of a sick, sometimes a slave was sacrificed." (3).

But in general the victim to be offered were animals especially pigs, chickens and sometimes large tortoises or very large oysters. If no details can be obtained concerning the human sacrifices mentioned by Colin, on the other hand there are plenty of details describing the sacrifices of the animals.

Pigafetta for instance gives a minute description of such a sacrifice.

Preliminary preparations: The large drums were beaten the offerings were placed on dishes and brought to the place where the ceremony was to be performed. The spot had been carefully prepared and decorated for the occasion. The priestesses made their entry and put on their vestments.

The Ceremony: The two priestesses began to dance around the pig while they recited the prayers. Meanwhile the pig was sprinkled with wine. Always while dancing one of the priestesses carried a lance in her hands and for a time aimed at the heart of the pig, then with a forceful thrust she pierced the heart of the victim. The lance was pulled out of the body and the wound was cleansed with a special kind of grassplants. The burning torch was then extinguished. The second priestess who carried a bamboo trombone in her hands dipped the instrument in the blood of the victim and marked with it the forehead of the assistants.

After the ceremony the priestesses took off their vestments and the offerings were consumed. The pig was roasted. (4).

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(1) **Morga op. c. p. 197.** Jamas le sacrificaron hombres, como en otros reynos se haze.

(2) **Gaspar de San Agustin op. c. p. 197 col. 1.** Tambien solían enterras esclavos con los mas Principales, para que los sirvicsen en el otro mundo.

(3) **Colin op. c. p. 67.** Y aparejado lo que se avia de sacrificar esclavo que alguna vez lo usavan.

(4) **Pigafetta op. c. p. 50-51.** Empiezan tocando unos grandes tambores; llevan tres platos, con dos tortas de arroz y mijo, cocidas y envueltas en hojas, y peces asados; en el tercero llevan unos retazos de tela de Cambaia y dos

The meat was divided among the people who ate this meat consecrated to the Anitos in huts which had been specially constructed for the purpose along the seaside. (1).

Other descriptions of these sacrifices are given by Legaspi, (2) Juan de la Isla, (3) Loarca (4), Chirino (5) and Colin (6). They naturally differ in the details. But who can expect to find a strict ritual among people who had no written language. Yet the general lines are the same, dancing, prayers, the killing of a pig or of a chicken, the catching of the blood, the marking of the sick and the spectators with the blood, the consummation of the sacrificed meat. Let us however indicate a few of the particular details of each of these given sources.

According to Legaspi the blood was caught and smeared over the sick person. When the meat was divided the priestess received the best portion of the victim in addition to her fee. (7). The writer further states what has been previously mentioned; namely that the sacrifice ended with a banquet, and a drinking bout (8), which makes us conclude that besides the sacrificed animals others were killed for the occasion. This is confirmed by Colin who writes "that besides the victim many animals were killed" for according to the same writer "the sacrifice was an

(1) **Pigafetta op. c. p. 50.** Muchos tabernaculos construidos en la playa en las que el pueblo solía comer la carne consagrada a los ydolos.
(2) **Gaspar de San Agustin op. c. Vol. I. p. 195 col. b.**
(3) **Doc. en. ser. 2. tom. 3. bl. 234.**
(4) **Loarca. op. c. p. 132.**
(5) **Chirino op. c. p. 28.**
(6) **Colin op. c. p. 67.**
(7) **Of. Gaspar de San Augustin: op. c. fol. I p. 195. col. b.**
(8) **Gaspar de San Augustin op. c. vol. I p. 195 col. C.**
Si es animal de cerda el sacrificado, le dá una lancada mientras bayla, y los circunstantes recogen la sangre para untar con ella al enfermo, y la carne se reparte entre todos por gran regalo, teniendo cuidado la Sacerdotisa de llevarse la mejor parte, ademas de paga que lleva por su trabajo:

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banderolas de palma. Unos de aquellos se extienden en el suelo; detras van dos mujeres viejas, llevando en la mano un trombon de caña, se colocan sobre la tela extendida, hacen reverencia al sol y se cubren con los otros retazos. La primera se ata a la cabeza un pañuelo que nuda en la frente dejando como dos cuernos, toma en la mano otro pañuelo y tocando y bailando llama al sol. La segunda toma una banderola y baila como la otra; así estan las dos un rato diciendo entre tanto muchas cosas al sol. Despues la primera suelta el pañuelo y toma la otra banderola, y vuelven las dos a bailar ante el puerco que tienen amarrado en el suelo. La primera habla al sol siempre en voz baja la segunda le contesta. Presenta esta a la otra una taza de vino, la cual se la aproxima a la boca varias veces manifestando deseos de beber, pero lo va derramando sobre el corazón del puerco. Devuelve luego la taza y le dan una lanza que sin dejar de bailar y cantar esgrime mirando el corazón del cerdo, hasta que al fin le da en él una gran lanzada, atravesando el cuerpo. Despues saca el arma de la herida y la cura con unas hierbas. Durante la ceremonia ha estado ardiendo una antorcha que apaga la mujer que ha herido al cerdo; la otra moja el trombon con la sangre del animal y con ella unta la frente de su marido de su compañero y de todos los presentes.

occasion of feasting at which everyone ate and drank, and danced. The meat of the sacrificed animal was divided among the assistants much like a blessed bread. This piece was highly esteemed and eaten with great reverence. (1).

Why was this piece of meat eaten with such great reverence? Probably because the Indios thought that it brought them in contact with the spirit who had accepted the sacrifice and as previously suggested in the citation of Mgr. Leroy, because the Indios considered this to be a kind of Communion with the Spirit.

It was just mentioned that the choicest portion of the victim was given to the priestess. Juan de la Isla is more explicit about this he says: "It was the part touched by the lance. No one but the Baylan might eat of it." (2). According to the same writer other parts of the victim were withheld from consummation by the assistants. "A certain part was placed upon a raft and entrusted to the river or to the sea." (3). This was the part reserved for the spirit or the Anito. The writer of the Conquista also testifies that a part of the good was given to the idols (4) and Chirino realtes how during the sacrifices they (The Indios) went now and then and spat out a mouthful of food into a plate, in honor of the Anitos. (5). Loarca is very explicit about this he says "they prepared a dish for the devil." (6).

The sacrifice involved at the same time the offering of presents to the priestess. These presents were gold, cotton or a chicken (7) and Colin who quotes the text of Chirino remarks explicitly that these offerings were for the priest or the priestess who offered the sacrifice. (8).

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(1) **Colin op. c. p. 67.** Muerto el animal, le hazian pedacos, y se repartia entre todos como pan bendito. Y aunque se matavan otros, y comian del, y dellos con otras viandas, y regalos a su uso; este era el estimado, y consumido con reverencia, La principal fiesta era el beber, como siempre, acompañado de mucha musica, y bayles.

(2) **Doc. en. ser. 2. tom 3. p. 234.** Y de lo que toca la lancada no come nadie sino el Baylan.

(3) **Ibidm.** Echan en unas balsas parte dello aderezado en el río ó en la mar.

(4) **Conquista op. c. p. 29.** Ofrecenle de aquello que comen al ydolo.

(5). **Chirino op. c. p. 112.** En los convites por occasion de sacrificios usaba poner en la mesa un plato a un lado en que por vía de Religión el que quería echaba algun bocado dejándolo de comer a contemplación del Anito.

(6). **Loarca op. c. p. 132.** Hacen su platillo para el demonio.

(7) **Chirino op. c. p. 78.** Porque ninguna persona se ha de hallar al sacrificio que no ofresca cual oro, cual algodon, cual gallina.

(8) **Colin op. c. p. 67.** Siendo ofrenda para el sacerdote o sacerdotisa ministro del sacrificio.

What name was given to these sacrifices?

Legaspi calls them "Maganitos" (1). According to Loarca these sacrifices were called by the same name as the priestesses "Baylanes" (2). The writer of the Conquista who calls these sacrifices a feats stipulates the two names: "Maganito" and "Baylan" (3).

These names were given when the sacrifice was offered for the intentions of a sick person or for a dead. (4). Yet Colin mentioned another sacrifice which was offered at the intentions of a rich person who wished to make a show of his wealth and this was then called: "fiesta del gran Dios." (5).

3. Finally a word is to be said of the *holocausts.*

Information concerning these is not so numerous as for the victims. Chirino testifies that in front of certain idols there was a fire-brand with some charcoal upon which perfumes were burned and the writer states explicitly that what he saw there must actually have represented an holocaust. (6). Morga also mentions "the offering of perfumes and scents," (7) thus there is probably also question here of holocausts.

One more detail concerning the sacrifices is to be indicated. On this occasion the priestesses and the priests assumed the part of an augurer. They pretended to read the future in the intestines of the victim while muttering a kind of prayer (8).

8.o *Dances and Songs.*

As previously indicated, the sacrifice was attended with dances and songs which lasted without interruption during the entire length of the sacrifice. Even the death blow with the lance was given while dancing, and when the priestess fell in a swoon the spectators continued the songs until she had reco-

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(1) **Gaspar de San Augustin op. c. Vol I. p. 195 col b.** Estos sacrificios llaman Maganitos.

(2) **Loarca op. c. p. 132.** Hacen sus sacrificios que llaman baylanes y de aqui baylanes a las mujeres.

(3) **Conquista p. 28.** En medio de la fiesta que llaman ellos maganitos en su lengua, y por otro nombre "baylan".

(4) **Gaspar de San Aug. op. c. Vol I. p. 195 col b.** Estos sacrificios llaman Maganitos, y son de muchos modos, unos por enfermos, y otros por defuntos que es indecencia expressarlos.

Cfr. also **Loarca op. c. p. 130.**

(5) **Colin op. c. p. 67.** Si el sacrificio era por fiesta que hazian a algun principal por ostentacion llamavanla fiesta del gran Dios.

(6) **Chirino op. c. p. 77.** Vi delante del idolillo un tiesto con algunas brasas y un poco de mal zahumerio, que debia de ser el sacrificio.

(7) **Morga op. c. p. 196.** Donde le ofrecian perfumes y olores.

(8) **Colin op. c. p. 67.** La catalona hablando entre dientes le abria sacava y mirava la assadura, al modo de los antiguous truspices.

vered consciousness (1). It seems that these were ritual dances, for towards the end of his description of the sacrifice, Pigafetta asserts that "no one will est of the sacrificed pig unless it has been offered according to the prescribed ceremonies." (2).

What was the purport of these songs?

Loarca states that in her songs the priestess invoked the spirit, the devil (3). Therefore according to Loarca these songs were invocations to the spirits. Pigafetta also mentions such invocations to the sun (4). Chirino seems to have heard some of these songs as he quotes different kinds: songs while sailing on the sea; songs while at work, songs for the feasts; but especially the songs of mourning. He writes "In these songs they celebrate the fabulous genealogy and the vain deeds of their gods (5). Such songs in which they proclaimed the genealogy and the prowess of the spirits which they invoked were perhaps the kind of songs sung by the priestesses during the ceremonies of the sacrifice. But these were also known by the spectators, for when after the sacrifice the priestess told the sick person that he would recover, all joined in singing the history of the ancestors of the sick and the history of the Anito to whom the sacrifice had been offered (6).

It seems that no traces are left of these songs which were transmitted orally and were only preserved in the memory of the Indios (7).

F. LANGUAGE OF THE CULT.

Since no written records are left concerning the prayers, invocations and songs it is difficult to assert whether these acts of the cult were performed in the popular language of the Indios or whether the cult had a language of its own. Yet we dare say that in case the prayers were recited in the language of the people, that their contents were veiled with a kind of mystery and therefore could not be understood by everyone.

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(1) **Loarca op. c. p. 172.**

(2) **Pigafetta op. c. p 51.** Nadie lo come sino ha sido asi sacrificado con las ceremonias descritas.

(3) **Loarca op. c. p. 113.** Cantando ella sus cantares ynvoca al demonio.

(4) **Cfr. Pigafetta op. c. p. 57.** Llaman al sol.

(5) **Chirino op. c. p. 74.** Oyendolos cantar cuando navegan, cuando laboran, cuando se regocijan y festejan mucho mas quando llevan los difuntos. En estos cantares barbaros cuentan los fabulosas genealogias y vanos hechos de sus dioses.

(6) **Colin op. c. p. 67.** Si la proficia era de vida, comian y bebian cantando las historias de los antepasados del enfermo, y del anito a quien se hacia el sacrificio.

(7) **Chirino op. c. p. 74.** Su religion se funda en tradicion...lo conservan en cantares que tienen de memoria.

This may be concluded from the manner in which the priesthood was transmitted from one to another.

According to Chirino this position was only transmitted to special friends or relatives (1).

Whenever someone wished to enter this profession he was obliged to be very cunning and exert himself to the utmost to find out the secrets of this function and take over the work of the practising priest. Yet, continues Colin, it was only after great endeavour that he or she succeeded in acquiring this so much coveted position of priesthood (2).

This education or preparation for the priesthood consisted most probably in trying to learn the meaning or the content of the mysterious prayers, as the other ceremonies could easily be imitated. Moreover from the description given by Pigafetta it is clear that these prayers had a mysterious character since the priestess addressed the sun in a low voice and her companion answered her in the same manner (3).

Chirino makes no definite statement in regard to the prayers; but the description which he gives of the sacrifice leads us to conjecture the mysterious character of the prayers: "the sacrifice consists in killing the animal and in connection with this were certain ceremonies and dances" (4).

Describing the sacrifice, Colin, the disciple of Chirino, says that "the priestess muttered between her teeth" this proves plainty that the prayers were not intended to be understood by the spectators (5). Legaspi also infers that the prayers were not intelligible to others or at least that they were inaudible; he says: "the priestess gesticulates and makes grimaces, now and then looking upward acting as if she had visions with which she was conversing; then again she resumed her dances (6).

This description leads us to suppose that this comedy was intended to impress the mind of the onlookers with its mystery and therefore the prayers were necessarily unintelligible to the spectators.

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(1) **Cfr. Chirino op c. p. 78.**

(2) **Colin op. c. p. 67.** Otros por maña que se davan para ser enseñados y substituidos en el officio de los sacerdotes de fama, grangeando su voluntad.

(3) **Pigafetta op c. p. 51.** La primera habla al sol siempre en voz baja y la segunda le contesta.

(4) **Chirino op c. p. 78.** Herir la tal ofrenda con ciertas ceremonias y mudanzas.

(5) **Colin op. c. p. 67.** La catalona hablando entre dientes, le abria.

(6) **Gaspar de San Augustin op c. Vol I. p. 145 col b.** Haziendo muchos gestos y visages muy feos, mirando al cielo de quando en quando haziendo que vee visiones y que habla con ellas.

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CHAPTER IV. MYTHOLOGY

The Indios had their own mythology and in the first chapter of our thesis this was treated in the main topics while speaking of their gods, the origin of the races and the origin of nature (1).

And while referring to the songs, it was mentioned that in their songs the Indios celebrated the genealogy and the heroic deeds of their gods (2).

With Retana we deplore that these songs have not been preserved (3) because they might have furnished extensive information on their mythology and many details concerning the life of the soul of the Indios. We must therefore be contented with the few details given by Loarca, which for the greater part have already been mentioned.

However the following might be added. It seems that a certain Panas,, grandchild of the first men introduced war into this world: One day he had a quarrel with a certain Mangaran over an inheritance. From that time men were divided in two parties and this enmity was transmitted from father to son. (4).

According to Loarca this same Panas with Lubluhan (who has been mentioned in the first chapter) was the great lawgiver of the Indios who were governed by the laws of these two heroes. (5).

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(1) **Cfr. Thesis Chapter I.**

(2) **Cfr. Chirino op c. p. 74.** En estos cantares barbaros cuentan las fabulosas genealogias y vanos hechos de sus dioses.

(3) **Retana in the edition of Morga's Sucesos. p. 456.**

(4) **Loarca op. c. p. 140.** El primer hombre que dicen que tubo guerra dicen que se llaman Panas hijo de aquel Anoranor nieto de los primeros hombres tuba la con Mañgaran sobre una herencia y de alla tubieron principio los guerras porque dividieron en dos partes y de padres a hijos an venido decindiendo y ansi dicen que el primer hombre que tomo armas para pelear fue el Panas.

(5) **Loarca op. c. p. 140.** Estas leyes dicen que les dexo Lubluhan y Panas. Dicen que las leyes por que se an governado hasta ahora se les dexo Lubluhan aquella muger que diximos arriba.

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CHAPTER V. FETICHISM

A. *What is Fetichism?*

Fetichism is a kind of religious worship in which certain objects as for instance natural phenomenas or images are ascribed a supernatural power on account of the spirit which is supposed to dwell in them. Hence these objects are deified and treated as such.

The Ethnologist Leonce de Grandmaison, commenting on Fetichism says: "All these manifestations of the divine... spirits or genius do not only possess, but are capable of communicating to the material objects with which they come into contact, something of the supreme power which is supposed to reside in them. Thus it happens that objects, often artificial, beneficiate at different degrees, of the religious fear which the spirits inspire and even sometimes impose it.

These representations are given the general name of Idols, while the word Fetich has been reserved for the more clumsy, rough and cruder images." (1).

Fetichism therefore consists in venerating and fearing rough images, because they are supposed to possess a supernatural power.

B. After this consideration *we do not believe that fetichism was common among the Indios.*

It is a fact that the Indios had statues and even a great many of them, moreover this has been clearly proved in the previous chapters. But the question lies in this: "What did these statues or images represent to the Indios?"

In the criticism of History it is an important rule that obscure texts be interpreted by the light of other texts which are clearer and that the sources which treat the fact ex professo should be examined before the sources which mention only the fact per transennam, or by the way.

Therefore Loarca, who paid special attention to this fact ought to be consulted first.

(1) Christus. p. 16-17.

It was previously mentioned that the Anitos were the ministers of Bathala with whom they dwelt. Sometimes they were sent by Bathala on errands to this world. (1). The ancestors were numbered among the anitos because after death they served Bathala, and sacrifices were offered to these Anitos. (2).

On the death of the parents small statues were made to serve as a remembrance of them. Loarca calls them wooden idols which they *kept* in their houses (mark well kept not venerated). Because these statues were a remembrance of the deceased they were called Anitos. (3).

Thus we may conclude according to Loarca that these statues were a souvenir of the deceased. This statement is confirmed by Chirino who writes: "In memory of their dead they make small statues of stone or wood or bones or ivory or of the teeth of the caiman." (4).

But the writer of the Conquista says: "they had many statues which they worshipped" (5) and Urdaneta is of the same idea. (6).

Yet there remains to be answered the following question. For whom was this worship intended? Was it for the statue or for the spirit which was supposed to reside in it?

We believe Morga to be correct in his opinion when he says "that they worshipped the devil, the spirits and that they (the Indios) made small statues of different shapes which they kept in grottos and in their homes, but that they offered perfumes and food and fruits to the *devil* (he adds the Anitos.)" (7).

Thus it was in front of these statues that the Indios offered their oblations and sacrifices, which were, after all, not intended for the statues themselves but for the spirits, the Anitos.

This manner of considering the facts is confirmed in a marvellous way by a statement of the writer of the Conquista "on the occasion of a sacrifice the statues are brought out into daylight, but as soon as the sacrifice is over they are again re-

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(1) **Cfr. Loarca op. c. p. 170.**

(2) **Ibidem p. 172.**

(3) **Loarca p. 172.** En muriendoseles padre o madre o pariente hacer de palo un ydolo pequeño y guardallo.

Notice that Loarca means the Indios in general although this is written in the Chapter treating about the Moros of Luzon. Moreover he speaks of those who lived in the Mountains "especialmente en las serranias" and the Moros at that time lived around Manila.

(4) **Cfr. Chirino op. c. p. 75.**

(5) **Cfr. Conquista p. 28.**

(6) **Cfr. De Uncilla op. c. p. 353.**

(7) **Morga op. c. p. 196.** Haziendole figuras de dichas formas que tenian en cuevas y casas particulares donde le ofrecían perfumes y olores, y comidas y frutas a que llaman Anitos.

turned to a corner of the house without being shown any further marks of respect or veneration." (1).

For the sake of argument let us suppose for a moment that these statues were true idols, these statues partaking of the supernatural power of the spirits. Would the Indios, who held the supernatural world in so much dread, have dared to treat their idols with such irreverence? But let us suppose that these statues became the temporal residence of these spirits, let us suppose that the Indios believed, that when they offered a sacrifice to the anitos, the anitos came to dwell for a time in these statues. In this case the manner in which the Indios treated these statues is easily understood: great respect during the time of the offerings; gifts placed in front of these statues; prayers and desires expressed before them, and after the oblation or the sacrifice when the spirit was believed to have left his dwelling place, banishment of these statues into a dark corner without feeling the least scruple.

In regard to the Anitos, these statues assumed most probably the same position as the trees, the stones and the rocks. They were dwelling places in which the spirits reside especially when they were invoked or when an offering or a sacrifice was made in their honor.

Thus we reach the conclusion that in general among the Indios these statues were not Fetiches. A text of Chirino confirms our statement. He speaks of a small room wherein the Indios concealed all sorts of objects but which in fact was consecrated to the Anitos. This probably exists, says Chirino, that the Anitos while on their journey, might find a resting place." (2). Thus the Anitos acted like the god Baal of whom Elias mockingly said that he was gone on his journey (3). We may therefore conclude that the Anitos were not always present in the house of the Indios, but whenever they entered their houses they took up their abode in a definite spot that is in the small images.

This conclusion is indirectly confirmed by Argensola who writes in his Conquista: "Those who are not yet subjected to Spain, attribute immortality to the soul; but they consider the souls as wanderers who travel from one body into another just as in the ridiculous transmigration invented by Pythagoras. (4).

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(1) **Cfr. Conquista p. 29.** Y assi los tienen syn ninguna reverencia.

(2) **Chirino op. c. p. 77.** Era dedicada al anito... Quiza para que posase en ella, cuando fuese de camino como les decía Elias á los otros.

(3) I. Reg. XVIII. 28 "Deus (Baal)... forsitan loquitur, aut in diversorio est aut in itinere, aut certe dormit."

(4) **Conquista de las Islas Molucas** por Bartolome Leonardo de Argensola. Madrid 1609. p. 167. La religion, y policia son las mismas que en España; y en las que no han venido aun al yugo, Idolatria indiscreta. Im-

Argensola who has never been in the Islands does certainly not give in this case an exact reproduction of the facts. Yet he makes an allusion to the fact that the souls were vagabonds, wanderers.

And when Legaspi testifies: "they have no idols which they worship." (1) and when the narrator of his expedition writes: "we found no idols among them" (2) both were right if by the word idols they meant true fetiches, because the worship of the Indios was offered to the Anito, the Spirit and *not to the statue.*

However we do not mean to say by this that among the Indios, there were none who ascribed supernatural power to these statues, because for superstitious persons it was very natural to give to the image which they saw, the cult which ought to have been given to the Anito or the spirit which to them was invisible. And this has probably been the case with the statues in which the residing Anito made his presence more plausible than the other Anitos did in their own statue.

Chirino relates such a case: "In San Juan del Monte there lived a Catalona whose statue, according to her saying, had come down from heaven." (3). "This statue was held in great veneration by the priestess. On her deathbed she appointed her successor, and had this statue then removed secretly with respect to the house of the new Catalona where a festival of three days was held in honor of this image." (4). This statue was said to possess supernatural power because through it the devil often made known his will (5) and it had told her (the Catalona) that its presence would never be discovered to others." (6).

This statue was therefore considered a great treasure. It was made of a large tooth of a Caiman and completely set in gold. The head of the Anito was also made of gold. (7). Sacri-

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(1) **Gaspar de San Augustin op. c. Vol. I. p. 195 col. b.** No tenían ídolo ni simulacro alguno a quien diessen adoración.

(2) **Cfr. Doc. en. ser. 2. tom. 3. p. 113.**

(3) **Chirino op. c. p. 79.** Cuyo anito decía ella habia bajado del cielo.

(4) **Chirino ibidem p. 79-80.** Si moría alguna dellas, señalaba heredera y sucesora la cual aceptada y recibida llevaban su idollilo algunos principales de la casa de la difunta a la de la heredera a media noche, con algun acompañamiento y gran silencio. Donde por tres días continuos le hacían fiesta.

(5) **Chirino op. c. p. 80.** Que (el demonio) en él le hablaba a menudo.

(6) **Chirino op. c. p. 80.** Habiale el prometido que de ninguna manera le hallarían.

(7) **Chirino op. c. p. 80.** Dos en particular de dos grandes colmillos de caiman engastados en oro; y del mismo oro formada en la punta del colmillo la cabeza del anito.

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mortalidad atribuyen a las almas; pero hazenlas vagabundos de unos cuerpos en otros, en aquella ridicula transmigracion, que invento, o declaro Pythagoras.

fices were offered to this Anito. (1). Now it is plain that the Catalona venerated the statue itself and this is proved by the fact that when the statues was discovered by a priest, and thrown into the fire after having been stripped of the gold, that the Catalona was so disappointed over the little power exercised by her idol that she desired to become a Christian. (2).

If such facts occured in the beginning of the Spanish Regime, they must certainly have been in existence in the previous years; we mean to say that probably before the coming of the Spaniards, some Indios ascribed a supernatural power to some statue; yet this was but a deviation from the general conception that these statues were the abodes of the spirits whenever for one or for another reason they came in contact with the living. Thus we find no *"Fetichism"* among the Indios but in its stead *Animism* as was previously stated.

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(1) **Chirino op. c. p. 80.** Induciendole... en consecuencia de eso se ofreciese sacrificio al anito por su salud.

(2) **Chirino op. c. p. 81.** Hallado, quitando el oro... fué con los demas al fuego...; la catalonan, que ya desengañada del poco de su ídolo trataba de convertirse.

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CHAPTER VI. MAGIC

A. Magic is commonly known as a *superstitious belief* in which certain words, actions, and objects are ascribed a power beyond that which is natural to them or different from it.

There exist the natural magic or white art, which has usually recourse to natural means for a useful end. But there is also the preternatural magic called the black art or witchcraft, sorcery, occultism, or spiritism which uses the preternatural powers (especially the spirits) general with the aim of causing injury or damage.

B. Yet the Question is: *Did the Indios know Magic?*. If morga is to be believed the answer is in the affirmative. He says "There have always been quacks and sorcerers among the Indios and they are not punished as long as they do not harm, but it can not always be proved that they were harmless." (1).

Let us add to this the testimony of Juan de Plasencia "that the sorcerers were condemned to death" (2) and then we may conclude that the Indios practiced the natural and preternatural magic. For the sorcerers were left unmolested as long as they practised the white art but as soon as they had attempted the use of the black art with its pernicious and injurious results they were condemned to death.

Loarca also testifies to the existence of sorcerers among the Indios he says: "In this land there are sorcerers and enchanters notwithstanding that there are good physicians who, by means of simple herbs heal all kinds of poisonous wounds." (3).

We might conclude from this text that the sorcerers mentioned by Loarca, were practicers of the white art as he places

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(1) **Morga op. c. p. 196.** Herbolarios y hechizeros a avido comunmente entre estos naturales; estos no se castigavan ni prohibian entre ellos, entretanto que no causavan algun daño particular, que pocas vezes se podía averiguar ni tratar dello.

(2) **Juan de Plasencia in Morga p. 473.** Condenavan a muerte a los hechizeros.

(3) **Loarca op. c. p. 162.** Ay en esto tierra brujos y echiceros aunque ay tambien buenos medicos que curan con yervas simples especialmente contra qualquier genero de poncona.

them in opposition to good physicians who, by simple natural means aimed at a natural result. And yet we shall often have the opportunity of proving that Loarca knew the other class of sorcerers just as well.

Chirino relates the following incident of a sorcerer who pretended to cure a patient in a wonderful manner. "He placed one end of a hollow bamboo upon the affected part while through the other end he sucked up the air; then he let fall some pebbles from his mouth pretending that they had been extracted from the affected spot." (1).

P. Delgado in his book Chapter XVIII, treating of Sorcery and Witchcraft mentions different kinds of quacks who by means of herbs occassioned diseases or effected cures. (2). But since Delgado wrote in the XVIII Century (he began to write in 1751) and since these different personages with their characteristic names cannot be found in the early sources we dare not testify to their existence before the coming of the Spaniards.

Therefore we confine ourselves to the remark that there existed quacks, men who practiced the white art, men who in an extraordinary manner pretended to effect cures.

C. These *quacks* were simply charlatans who played upon the good faith and confidence of their fellow men. (3). According to Chirino it was especially in time of sickness that these men deceived the ignorant pagans.

Because in time of sickness the Indios were much afflicted and were very anxious to obtain a remedy for the restoration of health. They were ready to believe and venerate anyone who could give or at least promise to obtain a remedy for them." (4). It was thus natural that these deceivers tried to earn a living as the poor Indios would give all they possessed in exchange for this desired cure. (5).

This position of quack was a profession of its own but according to different sources the priest and priestesses, those who offered the sacrifices, also practised this business of quackery.

Chirino, for example, when he mentions for the first time

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(1) **Chirino op. c. p. 77.** Este fingia curarlos aplicando un cañuto en la parte donde el enfermo sentía mas el dolor, y luego con la boca a la parte contraria atraia el aire tde dentro; y hecho esto echaba de ella tres pedrezuelas, que fingia haber sacado del cuerpo del enfermo.

(2) **Delgado.** Historia General sacro-profana políticas y natural de las Islas Filipinas. Manila 1892. p. 367-372.

(3) **Morga. op. c. p. 197.** Traian engañados a los demas.

(4) **Chirino op. c. p. 78.** Hacen estos mil engaños a los ciegos infieles particularmente en ocasiones de enfermedad con la cual se afligen y congojan demasiadamente, y luego querrian el remedio y a quien se lo da ó promete, le estiman, creen, adoran.

(5) **Chirino ibidem.** Le dan cuanto tienen.

the Catalonan, and the Babailan, says that these persons deceived the poor people in a thousand ways and as a proof of his statement be relates the incident of the quack who pretended to suck up stones from the wound of a patient. An instance which has been previously mentioned. (1).

Consequently we may say that the Catalonan and the Babailan practised the white art.

How were these would-be-healers treated by the people? Chirino says that those who gave or at least promised the remedy were respected, trusted, esteemed and venerated. (2). Therefore the Indios treated these men with respect as long as they hoped to receive any profit from their art, but as soon as their help was no longer needed, the esteem was most likely to diminish.

D. *The black art.*

1.o As was conjectured by Chirino, the quacks mentioned previously were rather harmless persons but according to the same author "there were others who made contracts with the devil and received his assistance in very definite ways" (3).

2.o And here comes the important problem *of the action of the devil among the Indios.*

Let us first examine the sources in regard to this subject and then we may conclude if this intervention of the devil is to be taken for granted. We begin with Legaspi: "They offer sacrifices to the devil and his person whom they know, for fear that harm may befall them." (4). Among the companions of Legaspi, the narrator of the expedition says: "They invoke the devil who descends in a bamboo from whence he speaks to the priestess who in turn communicates his desires and commands to the onlookers." (5).

Juan Pacheco Maldonado a companion of Legaspi writes in a letter to Philip II "that the Indios invoked the devil." (6).

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(1) **Cfr. Chirino op. c. p. 77.**

(2) **Cfr. Chirino op. c. p. 78.**

(3) **Chirino op. c. p. 78.** Pero la verdad hay otros que tienen muy particular pacto con el demonio y el les asiste y acude con muy particular asistencia.

(4) **Gaspar de San Augustin op. c. Vol. I. p. 195 col. a.** Solamente sacrificaban al demonio y su persona a quien reconocían, por temor de que les hiziesse daño.

(5) **Col. de doc. ined., ser 2. tom. 3. doc. 39 p. 113.** Ansi mismo imbocan al Demonio; y dicen que les hacen venir en una caña hueca, y que alli habla a las sacerdotisas, que la mayor parte son mugeres las que hacen esta imbocación y hablan con el demonio, y él la respuesta da al público y les dice lo que han de ofrecer, aves y otra cosas, segun que pide y quiere el Demonio.

(6) **Rvista Historico-Bibliográfica** (Retana, Archivo Bibliófilo Filipino. Tom. 5. Madrid 1905 p. 33—Invocan al demonio.

Juan Martinez in turn testifies that "they had little intercourse with the devil for fear that he would in person appear to them." (1).

In different passages of Loarca there is question of the devil. Among others the Author asserts that "the devil really appeared to the Indios, that he was well dressed and glittered with gold." (2).

Chirino says that they knew "the devil of whom they stood in great terror because of the evil and the fear which he caused them." (3). Morga agrees with Loarca when he testifies "that the devil appeared to the Indios" yet according to Morga this was "under different shapes especially in terrifying and frightful forms of men and beasts." (4).

It is thus a well established fact that the sources are unanimous in testifying to the *faith* of the Indios in the devil and to the action of the devil among the Indios.

Yet the question arises: *Was the devil the same being for the Indios as it was for the Spaniards?*: "A fallen angel, an enemy of God, one whose aim was the eternal perdition of men?" It seems that a text of Legaspi gives the answer to the question: "the devil *or* the spirit to whom they offered sacrifices was called Divata" (5) and Juan de la Isla tells us "that their spirits which presided over their villages, their rivers, the sea, as well as the other spirits in general, were called Divata" (6). Now Divata was the name which the Visayas gave to the spirits while the Tagalog called them Anitos. (7).

Loarca in his description of the sacrifice, uses the word "Anito" and "demonio" with the same meaning. (8).

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(1) **Colección de documentos inéditos. ser. 2. tom. 3. doc. 47 p. 371-475.** Relation of the Voyage of the "San Gerónimo" año 1566 de Mayo a 25 de Julio 1567. p. 465... Con el demonio tienen poco pacto y eso por temor que se les parece visible.

(2) **Loarca op. c. p. 132.** El demonio le aparece muy galano, con un vestido todo de oro.

(3) **Chirino op. c. p. 75.** En fin reconocían espíritus invisibles y otra vida y demonios enemigos de los hombres de quien tiemblan en extremo por el mal y asombros que dellos siempre recibían.

(4) **Morga op. c. p. 196.** Pareciales en diferentes formas, horribles y espantosas y de animales fieros.

(5) **Gaspar de San Agustin op. c. Vol. I. p. 195-196.** "Al demonio o genio que sacrificaban llaman Divata" and Legaspi gives here a philosophic explanation of the word: **Dia** would mean Divinity; and **juat** means to offer resistance; and Legaspi adds: a good name for Satan.

In **Colin op. c. p. 64** another explanation of the word is given: **Diva**: divinity and **uata** would signify son.

(6) **Doc. en. ser. 2. tom. 3. p. 233.** En cada pueblo tienen su dios nombrale todos generalmente Divata.

(7) **Colin op. c. p. 65.** Los Bissayas los llaman Divata y los Tagalos Anito.

(8) **Cfr. Loarca op. c. p. 172.**

We know that all the spirits were not considered good or benevolent. In the first chapter of our thesis we have mentioned bad or evil spirits who caused diseases, and these evil spirits had a special name: "mangalos". (1).

Thus we reach the conclusion that the devil of the Spaniards was equivalent to the evil spirits of the Indios.

3.o *There remains to be determined whether we are to believe in a real intervention of the devils.*

It would be unscientific to deny such an intervention a priori; therefore let us examine the witnesses and judge of their real value. What do we find in the sources concerning this fact? They testify to *possession*: "the devil takes possession of the body of the priestess, throws her on the ground where she lies foaming at the mouth, just as happens to the demoniacs" (2) this is the testimony of Loarca. The same kind of possession was found by Loarca among the Moros of Luzon "the devil took possession of the body, then she fell in a swoon foaming at muth." (3).

Chirino, a keen observer who readily distinguished between reality and pretention, testifies the following: "Some have a compact with the devil, who sometimes take possession of the priest or the priestess during the time of the sacrifice." (4).

It is a fact that he who would disregard the force of such testimonies ought to be able to prove first of all that Loarca and Chirino were liars and that possession is impossible. On our part we have found both authors lovers of truth, two witnesses who judged the facts in sober reason; besides we believe in the possibility of possession.

Therefore we admit that in some cases possession took place among the Indios; they believed that the Anitos took possession of them when in reality it was Satan. Yet this possession of the devil was not always a reality although the priests and priestesses declared that the spirit had come into them. There must certainly have been occasions of much cheating and deceit and these priestesses and priests would often have *pretended* that they were possessed in order to make a greater impression upon the onlookers.

Legaspi describing the action of the priestesses leads us to suspect this deceit. He writes: "They act as though they

(1) **Cfr. Loarca op. c. p. 128.**

(2) **Loarca op. c. p. 132.** Despues le entra en el cuerpo y la derueca en el suelo y la hace hechar espumarajos por la voca como quien tiene el demonio.

(3) **Loarca op. c. p. 172.** El demonio se le entrava en el cuerpo mientras que el catalonan estava desmayado y basqueando.

(4) **Chirino op. c. p. 78.** Otras veces revistiéndose en los mismos ministros por aquel breve espacio que dura el sacrificio.

have visions with whom they speak and then again they resume their dancing and jumping till they fall unconscious on the ground where they lie with a develish hue upon their faces." (1).

This transitory unconsciousness might well have been the result of physical exhaustion and be ascribed to over-excitation.

Chirino is also very explicit about this deceit. He says "Yes, sometimes the devil takes possession of them, or at least they pretend to be possessed." (2).

Colin asserts the same, repeating more or less the words of Chirino "Sometimes the devil takes possession of them or they pretend this." (3).

Did the devil appear in person?

If Loarca is to be literrally believed, the answer is: "Yes". He writes: "the devil appears to them well dressed and glittering with gold." (4).

In a previous statement of Morga we find another testimony of this fact when he says "the devil appears to them under the most frightful forms and often assumes the appearance of terrifying animals." (5).

But we must not lose sight of what Legaspi says: "they acted as if they had visions." (6). Now it may be that the priestesses took for reality that which existed only in their over-excited imagination. Moreover we must not forget that the Indios considered some dangerous animals such as the caiman as being possessed by an evil spirit (7) and this appearance of the devil under the form of ferocious animals, as mentioned by Morga, can be explained by the superstitious belief of the Indios concerning the caiman and such like harmful animals.

4.o *What is to be found in the sources in regard to the power of those who practised the black art?*

First of all it is stated that through the intervention of the devil they could foretell future events, in other words they were soothsayers.

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(1) **Gaspar de San Augustin op. c. p. 195 col. b.** Y vuelve a baylar, hasta que cae en tierra, como amortizida, con una color diabólica, y se esta asi un gran rato.

(2) **Chirino op. c. p. 78.** A este tiempo se les reviste el demonio, ó lo fingen.

(3) **Colin op. c. p. 67.** A bueldas de esto se le revestia el demonio ó lo fingia.

(4) **Cfr. Loarca op. c. p. 132.**

(5) **Morga op. c. p. 196.**

(6) **Gaspar de San Augustin op. c. Vol. 7 p. 195 col. b.** Haziendo que vee visiones y que habla con ellas.

(7) **Cfr. Chirino op. c. p. 76.**

Legaspi relates how the Indios had been informed of the coming of Magellan. Three years before his arrival the devil had warned them during a sacrifice, that the old friendship between him and the Indios was at an end, that soon there would come white faced men of an extraordinary power accompanied by others who were more than men wearing black robes and having shaven beards and head; and these were the ministers of the great God who dwells in the highest heavens." (1).

Loarca asserts: "the devil foretells the future." (2).

No doubt that there was much cheating and deceit "they communicate many things which the devil seemed to have told them; and the people put faith in this, but most of the things which they foretell cannot ve verified." (3) therefore it was easy for them to tell whatever they wished.

"Those who are in relation with the devil and pretend to be possessed by him, maintained to have the power to forecast the course of illness, they assert that the devil reveals to them whether the sick person will recover or not." (4).

They also communicate to the onlookers the wishes of the devil. The narrator of the Legaspi expedition writes: "they (the possessed) told the people what they were to offer to the devil; birds or any other objects according to the expressed wishes of the devil." (5).

5.o Yet it was not only during the possession that *the devil communicated with his servants.* According to some sources, the priestess had the power to bring the devil down

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(1) **Gaspar de San Aug. op. c. Vol. I. p. 196 col. a-b.** Antes que viniese Hernando de Magallanes, tuvieron noticia de su venida por sus Oraculos, y tres años antes de la venida de Miguel de Lopez de Legaspi les dixo el demonio en un Maganito, o sacrificio: ya nuestra antigua amistad se acabo, porque vienen unos hombres de mucho poder, blancos, y rubios, y de grandes fuercas, y valor, acompañados de otros, que son mas que hombres, y traen faldas grandes, y negras, y rapada la barba, y cabeca y ministros del gran Dios, que habita en lo mas alto de las nubes. Y a este modo tuvieron otros muchos oráculos.

(2) **Loarca op. c. p. 132.** En los demas casos dice los sucesos.

(3) **Gaspar de San Aug. op. c. Vol. I. p. 195 col. b.** Refiere mil desparates que el demonio la ha dicho; lo cual creen los circumstantes con gran fe, porque las mas son cosas que no se pueden averiguar.

(4) **Loarca op. c. p. 132.** El demonio dice si el enfermo a de tener salud ó no.
Chirino op. c. p. 78. Anuncian lo que han visto y oido.
Colin op. c. p. 67. Despues que bolvía en si, le profetizaba al enfermo lo que avia de ser del.

(5) **Doc. en ser 2. tom. 3. p. 113.** El da la respuesta al público y les dice lo que han de ofrecer aves y otras cosas, sregun que pide y quiere el demonio.

into a piece of bamboo, whence he spoke to his servants. This is asserted by the narrator of the Legaspi expedition. (1).

A statement of Juan de la Isla leads us to the same conclusion: "the minister of Satan played on a large piece of bamboo, and it was then, says the writer, that he spoke with his gods. (2). Sometimes it was through the small statues called anitos, that the devil communicated with them imitating the voice of the deceased to whom these statues had been offered as an occasional resting place." (3).

6.o We have so far spoken of the black art as a means of disclosing the secrets of the future. But we may not forget that the black art was especially practised *for the purpose of causing harm or injury to other persons.* And no doubt that this was also the case among the Indios. The following lines will prove it. Morga says that the quacks and the sorcerers were not punished as long as they caused no harm. (4). Thus his statement admits implicitly that there were sorcerers who caused evil or injury.

Juan de Plasencia testifies to the kind of punishment which the sorcerers were made to suffer if they had injured their fellow men "they were condemned to death." (5).

The sources are very brief in details concerning this manner of practising the black art. Why?

Morga says that it was very difficult to make inquiries concerning the harm which had been inflicted or to find out the truth in this matter" (6). And this is probably the cause why the Spaniards have left so few details about this practice.

But still we have an interesting statement. It is from Loarca who relates how the inhabitants of Ybalon, (7) invoked the devils: Naguined, Arapayan and Macbarubac, and made them come down by means of a sacrifice, in the oil of a coconut in which lay the tooth of a caiman. This oil was then sold after the performance of other sacrifices had been completed so that the power might be transmitted to the buyer. Once in posses-

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(1) **Ibidem.** Le hacen venir en una caña hueca y que alli habla a las sacerdotisas.

(2) **Ibidem p. 234.** El Baylan toca un canito de caña grueso y largo... y entonces dizen que hablan con sus dios.

(3) **Chirino op. c. p. 78.** Hablales en sus ídolos o anitos fingiendo ser el difunto á quien adoravan.

(4) **Morga op. c. p. 196.** Herbolarios y hechizeros a avido... no se castigavan entretanto que no causavan algun daño particular.

(5) **Edition of Morga by Retana p. 473.** Condenavan a muerte... a los hechizeros.

Even today in the Benguet province the Igorots say that the punishment for these evil sorcerers is death.

(6) **Morga op. c. p. 196.** Poco vezes se podía averiguar ni tratar dello.

(7) Ybalon was a place in the present province of Albay.

sion of this oil the buyer could point out any person whom he disliked and wanted to get rid of and this person was sure to die unless he applied the power of another oil which neutralized the evil power of the first. (1).

Yet we must remark that Loarca begins by saying that this form of magic was only invented after the arrival of the Spaniards in the Islands. But since there were sorcerers who deserved capital punishment, may we not conjecture that the disciples of the Black Art practised almost the same infernal machinations before the coming of the Spaniards in this country?

Moreover a statement of Chirino leads us to the supposition: that the black art was practised with fatal results. He relates how in San Juan del Monte there lived a band of Catalonas who inspired the entire population with fear on account of their evil schemes. They forced the people to come for their services just as they had done while yet pagans. (2). None dared resist their influence; certainly not by the weak, but not even the powerful for fear that any misfortune might befall them." (3). This proves that the Indios were convinced that the Catalonas could attack their persons and injure them through the power which they had received from the Anito.

This happened in 1597. Yet everyone ought to admit that this faith in the dreaded power of the sorcerers must have existed before the arrival of the Spaniards. Let us not forget that the quoted fact took place not thirty years after the conquest of Luzon.

7.o *What class of persons practised the Black Art?*

According to the previous statement of Chirino, it was the Catalonas. (4). It is most probable that whenever he speaks of the priestesses he usually means those who had made a special

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(1) **Cfr. Loarca op. c. p. 162.** Agorra pocos años ay entre ellos. Una hechicera lo qual dicen que la ynventraron los naturales de Ybalon despues de que los españoles estamos aqui y es que ynvocan ciertos demonios que llaman Naguined y Arapayan, y Macbarubac y con aceyte de cocos y un colmillo de cayman sobre que hacen sus sacrificios ynvocando los demonios y este aceyte venden unos a otros, y quando lo venden hacen tambien sus sacrificios ynvocando al demonio pidiéndole que la virtud que tiene se la traspase en aquel que se la compra y dicen que con solo que le digan que se muera dentro de tanto tiempo se muere luego, si no le curan con otro aceyte que ay contra este.

(2) **Chirino op. c. 79.** Forzando a muchos con varios medios y trazas a que acudiesen a ellas... que antiguamente solían, antes que fuesen cristianos.

(3) **Chirino op. c. p. 79.** Con lo cual por una parte atraia poderosamente a los flacos, y por otra hacia a los fuertes... por no correr algun riesgo sus personas.

(4) **Chirino op. c. p. 79.** Había una cuadrilla de mujercillas Catolonas las cuales tenían casi tiranizado el pueblo.

compact with the devil. (1). In the given example of Black Art, Loarca does not mention the priests or priestesses. He relates the fact under the title of "Sorcerers, Witches and Physicians" (2). Yet he calls the persons possessed by the devil: "Baylanes" priestesses. (3).

And Morga describing the Catalonans says: that they were great sorcerers and witches (4) although he had previously mentioned the quacks and the sorcerers as belonging to a special class. (5).

Therefore we may conclude that the Spaniards considered the ministers of the sacrifice, that is the priests and priestesses, and the sorcerers as belonging to the same class; that the Spaniards simply regarded the priests and priestesses as deceivers; and therefore they call them without distinction Catalonan, Baylan, or Sorcerers. But we believe that *for the Indios* there existed a difference between the priestesses or priests and the sorcerers. The priestesses or priests were those who offered the sacrifice to the spirit, and who during the sacrifice came in contact with the spirit of the Anito. Through this contact, they were able to know what was to be done to pacify the Spirit.

While the sorcerers were those who tried by one or another means to come in contact with the devil (or evil Anito) to obtain a part of his power with the view of inflicting harm on certain persons. This distinction between priestess and sorcerer may be deduced from the manner in which they were treated. No where is mention made of punishment inflicted on priestesses or priests; while there are evident testimonies of capital punishment inflicted on the sorcerers.

The fact that Loarca deemed it necessary to devote a special paragraph (6) to the sorcerers and soothsayers, is an obvious proof that he surmised the difference between the two classes. Moreover we are stregnthened in our opinion by the fact that even today the people of the mountains make a sharp difference between their priests and the sorcerers.

Therefore we may conclude that the Catalonan or the Baylan of the Indios was the minister of worship, while the sorcerer was the evildoer who tried to obtain the power of the upper world to procure personal advantage in the one or other

(1) **Cfr. Chirino op. c. p. 77-78.**
(2) **Loarca op. c. p. 162.** Echizeros, bruxos, medicos.
(3) **Cfr. Loarca op. c. p. 132.**
(4) **Morga op. c. p. 197.** Algunos viejos y viejas que llaman Catalonas, grandes hechizeros y brujos.
(5) **Cfr. Morga op. c. p. 196.**
(6) **Loarca op. c. p. 162.** Hechizeros, bruxos, medicos.

undertaking: "to take revenge, or to rid himself of an enemy, a neighbour, or relative." (1).

The worship of the spirits is a kind of religion, while magic or Black Art is a degeneration of a religion or as Mgr. Leroy calls it an anti-religion. (2).

The priestesses and priests are the ministers of the cult to the spirits; the sorcerers are the ministers of the Anti-religion.

CONCLUSION.

Now that we have arrived at the conclusion of our study we wish to remark first of all that we had no intention of looking upon the subject with "a priori" ideas or systems. We had no wish of proving anything a priori; we were not blinded by the system of Tyler who saw among the primitive people nothing but *Animism* nor by the system of Frazer and Spencer who see everywhere Magic, who wished to trace everywhere Magic and Totemism, nor by the system of Winchler, Jensen and Stucken who wished to trace everywhere the Cult of the stars. We took the sources as they are; examined them and let them speak for themselves, drawing here and there conclusions which seemed to occur naturally.

One might object that contradictions present themselves in the study. Let us answer to this with Raoul Allier, who has recently published a most valuable book "La Psychologie de la Conversion chez les peuples non civilisés" (3). The non civilized does not trouble himself to understand what he does by routine. He needs no logic, and inconsistencies do not embarrass him. To try to reduce his ideas to a central point and to systematise his belief is to betray him, for one will ascribe to him a mass of ideas forming a respectable whole, which while drawn from his own words do nevertheless not belong to him. It is better to notice the contradictions without trying to conciliate them and to say: it is so, that is all." (4).

What have we been able to establish? If we admit the definition of Mgr. Leroy "Religion is the conglomerate of beliefs, obligations and practices through which man recognizes the supernatural world and fulfils his duties towards it, asking its assistance" (5) then the *Dogmatic, Moral, Cult* and *Organization of priesthood* are constitutive elements of Religion.

All this was found among the Indios thus we must admit that *in fact there existed a religion among them.*

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(1) **Mgr. Leroy in "Christus" p. 69.**
(2) **Leroy Ibidem p. 69.**
(3) **Raoul Allier,** "La Psychologie de la Conversion," Payot Paris 2. vol. 1925.
(4) **Raoul Allier. op. c. Vol. 1. p. 95.**
(5) **Mgr. Leroy.** "La Religion des Primitifs" p. 49.

Yet in his Religion we separate Superstition, Mythology and Magic. Their Superstition is nothing else but beliefs without object, and worthless practices.

Their Mythology is but an invention of men to satisfy their curiosity: Mythology furnishes men with a wonderful explanation of things unknown.

Their Magic is an art, an art to subdue at one' own service the forces of nature or to win the influence of the invisible world, by means of certain observances of a religious aspect.

Among the Indios as well as among other peoples their Magic was a perversion of Religion.

And when we look now for the "Essence of the Primitive" for t he essence of the Indio: *What do we find?* 1.o Science, 2.o Religion and 3.o Magic.

1.o Nature with its innumerable elements is full of secret influences, of forces which work in favor of, or against the living man. These forces are for the Indios the "*Anitos*" the spirits. Wow this is no reason why we should despise the Indio and consider him a "brute" who cannot distinguish between "Animate" and "inanimate" placing the sun, the animals and the stones on the same footing.

When the Indio thought that there was an acting force and a spirit in the objects, in some way he practised science, but he was mistaken in his explanation and in the means which he used to draw profit from the forces which were in these objects.

2.o When the Indio believed that there was a Being, Master of all creation, that he, the Indio, possessed no unlimited power over the objects of Nature, then again the Indio was not mistaken, but he did not see that Supreme Being in its *full* light and did not offer to that Being the worship which we give Him.

3.o When the Indio believed that outside the visible world there existed another world of "invisible beings" of dis-incarnated souls, or independent spirits who could manifest themselves in different ways, act upon the exterior objects and communicate with them: in what did he, the Indio, differ from so many civilized men who in all times and places are given to Superstition, Magic and Spiritism?

The Indio such as he was at the coming of the Spaniards, is not in matter of religious conception, separated by an impassable abyss from the Modern Man. Just as the child can be recognized in the man, so can the Indio be found again in the Modern civilized Man.

The Religion of the Indios was *No Idolatry*. Idolatry consist in the adoration of images which stand as the representation of a divinity. Idolatry is found among more civilized

peoples who confound the deities with their images. Thus one can speak of idolatry among the Romans and the Greeks.

But if Fetichism has existed among the Indios it was certainly not the whole religion of the Indios, for Fetichism supposes an anterior Animism.

It was neither "Naturism" which according to Tiele and S. W. Powell, consists in a cult given to visible nature.

The Religion of the Indios was an *"ANIMO-DEIST RELIGION"*.

A "Deist Religion" is any religion which is first of all based on the belief in God and the homage due to Him.

But among the Indios the first place, which should be occupied by the belief in God, was given to the cult of the dead, the cult of the spirits, the Anitos, although the idea of God was not completely exclude. *Therefore we call their religion "Animo Deist."*

Mgr. Leroy in speaking about the Religions Animo-Deists states "Religions Animo Deists would be in fact the heathenism of the uncultured races, together with the national religions of the Chinese, the Japanese, the Hindus, etc." (1).

Now it seems that we can complete this "etc." and that among this "etc" we may classify the Indios, who thus in the History of the Religions come to take their proper place among the group of the Oriental peoples.

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(1) **Mgr. Leroy.** "Religions des Primitifs" p. 458.

ERRATAS.

Page	*line*	*Error*	*Correct.*
4 text	18	knowledged	knowledge
6	2	whon	whom
6	9	Jusuit	Jesuit
7 text 3º	2	attribues	attributes
12 4º	5	t heir	their
20	1	among ancestors	among their ancestors
20 Nota 2.	2	honrada	honrrado
27 Nota 5.	2	servan... buyo	(*cancel*)
27 text	3	con elzuno	con el zumo
27 Nota 6.	3	particularmente que	particularmente el que
32 text 3.	12	trea sures	treasures.
34 Nota last Nota.		(8) Ines op. c. p. 50	(9) Loarca p. 124 Los tinguianes tienen por opinion que no aviendo mas de mar etc.
37 Nota 4.	2	sacriligio	sacrilegio.
42 text 2º	3	now here	nowhere
48	11	Spamards	Spaniards.
51 Nota 4.	5	qu	que
53 Nota 8.		cfr.	(*cancel*)
59 text	15	defeates	defeated
	20	attached	attacked
66 text 2º	6	devil." (2)	devil." (3)
"	9	they do." (3)	they do." (4)
71 Nota 8.	2	y otros otras vias	y otras vias
72 text 3:	18	aginst	against
82 "	19	punishment	punishments.

Page	*line*	*Error*	*Correct.*
85	19, 20	death" (8) and still... (till line 20) death (1)	*cancel from* (8) *and*... death" (1) *included, and read*: and if he himself became an adulterer he too was guilty of death." (8)
87 text	23	deed	deeds
90 text "	23	and cloth.	and cloth. (7)
90 nota	7		*Colección de documentos ineditos serie* 2. *tom.* 3. *p.* 234: Aderezan el lugar con muchos ramos de arboles verdes y mantas pintadas lo mejor que pueden.
91 "	25	by the house	nearby the house
92	23	dal Gran Dios	del Gran Dios
95 text 3º	2	Anitos; tried	Anitos; they tried
97 text 1º	15	relatitons	relations
108 text	4	by the mif	by them if
112 Nota 7.		(7)	*ought to be* (8)
112 Nota 8.		(8)	*ought to be* (7)
113 text	20	realtes	relates
114	5	feats	feast
115	3	will est of	will eat of
116	25	plainty	plainly
122	3	statues	statue
123	8	general	generaly
127 text 3º	12	muth	mouth
128	13	literrally	literally
129	13	ve verified	be verified
134 text	7	one' own	one's own
134 text 1.º	4	Wow	Now.

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